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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

IN a series of six articles contributed to *The Classical Review*, 1903-1904, under the title of "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak," I attempted to determine the original character of the chief Græco-Italic deity and the nature of his cult. The materials that I accumulated for this purpose, when pieced together, formed a reconstruction so unorthodox in its outlines that I should have hesitated to publish it, had I not found that in several important points it agreed well with the main argument of Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. Encouraged by this support I pushed on ; and further study has convinced me that my conclusions with regard to Zeus and Jupiter hold good for the corresponding gods of the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Letto-Slavonic peoples, if not for those of all branches of the Indo-European stock. I must, however, at the outset frankly confess that beyond the limits of the classical field I have no claim to speak as an expert. Scholars who have specialised in any of the mythologies of northern Europe will, I doubt not, find much to criticise in my remarks. Indeed, it is precisely in order to "draw the fire" of such criticism and thus to test the validity of my hypothesis that I have ventured to put pen to paper. I propose, first to restate (with some modifications) my general conclusions with respect to the ancient Greeks and Italians, and then to deal with apparently similar phenomena among the Celts, Germans, Slavs, &c., in each case considering how far cults evidenced by the literature or the monuments or both afford a real analogy to the results obtained in the Græco-Italic area.

THE GREEKS.

The supreme deity of the Greeks was essentially a sky-god.¹ As such he was called the "Bright" One, his name Ζεύς being referable to a root that means "to shine" and implies the "daylight."² Thus—to give but one example—the *Iliad* links together "the clear air and the rays of Zeus," where, as the scholiast *ad loc.* observes, by "the rays of Zeus" the poet means the sky.³ Empedocles⁴ speaks of elemental fire as Ζεὺς ἀργής, *i.e.*, "Zeus the brilliant"; and it is probable that Argus, a hero who figures largely in Greek mythology,⁵ was at bottom none other than the "Brilliant" sky-god.⁶

This primary conception of Zeus as a sky-god developed in two secondary directions. On the one hand, the sky is

¹ See *e.g.* Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 115 ff., Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1100 ff.

² O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 670, K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 312, *alib.* Two misleading explanations may here be noted. (1) E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 182, 220, holds that Ζεύς denotes properly the "hurler" or "discharger" of rays (*cp.* H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, p. 600, *s.v.* div) and infers that he must have been the lightning-god, not as is commonly supposed the god of bright daylight. But the frequent use of the word *dyaus* in the Rig-veda for "sky" or "day" (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 21) and the existence of the Latin *dies* beside *Diespiter* are conclusive in favour of the common view. (2) Against Dr. Frazer's suggestion (*The Golden Bough*,² iii. 456 f.) that Zeus was named "Bright" as being the oak-god, *i.e.* god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making, I have elsewhere protested (*Class. Rev.*, xvi. 372), as has Gruppe (*op. cit.* p. 1100, *n.* 2).

³ *Il.*, 13. 837 with schol. B.

⁴ Emped. *frag.* 6 Diels.

⁵ Argus the builder of the ship Argo is identified with Argus Πανόπτης, the eponym of Argos, by Jessen (Roscher, *Lexikon der Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie*, iii. 1549) and Wernicke (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 797 f.).

⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 75, 82. The adjective ἀργός denotes "brilliant."

not always bright and brilliant. As the rustic Corydon puts it in an idyll of Theocritus : ⁷

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἶθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει.
Ay, Zeus is sometimes fine and sometimes wet.

Hence the Greeks at a very early date extended the notion of Zeus as a bright sky-god to cover that of Zeus as a weather god.⁸ The man in the street said : “ Zeus rains,” “ Zeus snows,” “ Zeus sends the hail.”⁹ The minstrel in the palace-hall was ready with high-sounding epithets : “ He of the dark clouds ” (κελαινεφής), “ He that rumbleth aloud ” (ἐρύδονπος), “ He that hurleth the thunderbolt ” (τερπικέραυνος). In various localities Zeus was worshipped under special weather-titles, *e.g.* Zeus “ the Thunderer ” (Βροντῶν), Zeus “ of the Fair Wind ” (Εὐάνεμος), “ Zeus of the Rain ” (Ῥέτιος).¹⁰ Marcus Aurelius¹¹ has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer “ In the time of Dearth and Famine ” : it runs as follows :—

ὕσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ,
κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων
Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
On Athens' tilth and Athens' plains.

The same conception found an expression in art. On the Athenian acropolis Pausanias¹² saw “ an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain upon her.” And a bronze coin

⁷ Theocr., 4, 43.

⁸ Preller-Robert, pp. 117 ff. ; Gruppe, pp. 1110 ff. ; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, i., 44 ff.

⁹ *E.g.* *Il.*, 12. 25 f., ὕει δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | συνεχές ; Babr., 45. 1, ἔνιφεν ὁ Ζεὺς ; *Eur.*, *Tro.*, 78 f., καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπερον | πέμψει δνοφώδη τ' αἰθέρος φυσήματα.

¹⁰ On Zeus Βροντῶν of Phrygia, Galatia, &c., see Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 891 f. On Zeus Εὐάνεμος of Sparta, Preller-Robert, p. 118. On Ζεῦ Ῥέτιος of Lebadea, Argos, Cos, &c., Gruppe, p. 1110, *n.* 2.

¹¹ Marc. Aur., 5. 7.

¹² Paus., i. 24. 3, with Frazer's *n.*

of Ephesus¹³ struck under Antoninus Pius shows on its reverse side Zeus Ὑέτιος enthroned on a rocky summit (Trachea) and pouring from his raised right hand a shower of rain upon a recumbent mountain-god (Pion). Now in polished classical times the thunderbolt was commonly regarded as a weapon flung by Zeus.¹⁴ But in by-gone animistic days Zeus had been identified with his own bolt.¹⁵ Similarly in the historical period rain was "water from Zeus," or "the shower of Zeus."¹⁶ But there were not wanting expressions that hinted at a closer connection. Matron, the parodist of Homer, dubbed rain "the child of Zeus";¹⁷ Orphic writers spoke of it as "the tears of Zeus";¹⁸ Aristophanes *more suo* as the water of Zeus.¹⁹ Indeed, it is probable that Zeus had originally been thought to come down himself in the form of rain. This belief may underlie the usage of ζήνιον or ζήνιον ὕδωρ, *i.e.*, "Zeus-water," as a term for rain-water in magical formulæ.²⁰ It would account for the extraordinary significance attached

¹³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Ionia, p. 79, pl. 13, 9. Eumelus (*frag.* 18 Kinkel) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.*, 4. 48, states that on the top of Mount Tmolus was a place called originally Γοναὶ Διὸς Ὑετίου, later Δευσίου.

¹⁴ On Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος, ἐγχεκέραννος, ἐλασιβρόντης, &c., see the references collected by Gruppe, p. 1111, n. 3.

¹⁵ See Farnell, i., 45 f., who cites the Zeus Κεραυνος of Mantinea, the Zeus Καταιβάτης of Olympia and elsewhere, the Zeus Καππώτας of Gythium, &c.

¹⁶ Ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ Hdt., 2. 13; *Ap. Rhod.*, 2. 1122; *Plut. quæst. nat.*, 2: Διὸς ὄμβρος, *Od.* 9. 111; *Theocr.*, 17. 78.

¹⁷ Matron *ap.* Athen., 2. 64 c, αὖ ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἄσπετος ὄμβρος.

¹⁸ Clem. Alex. *strom.*, 5. 8. 50, Ἐπιγένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ὀρφείως ποιήσεως τὰ ἰδιάζοντα παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἐκτιθέμενός φησι . . . δάκρυα Διὸς τὸν ὄμβρον δηλοῦν.

¹⁹ Aristoph. *nuθ.*, 373, καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί' ἀληθῶς ψῆμν διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν.

²⁰ Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris u. London*, Wien, 1888, pap. Paris. 225, ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλῆζῃ ζήνιον (*sc.* βάλῃ ὕδωρ); Wessely, *Neue Griechische Zauberpapyri*, Wien, 1893, p. 41, 630, ζηνίου ὕδατος.

to a downpour, not only in legends, but in actual life,²¹ where a sudden storm was called *διοσημία*, "a sign from Zeus," and a few rain-drops might suffice to postpone a public assembly.²² It would also explain more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology. Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danae.²³ And two similar epiphanies are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of folk-lore was only equalled by his appreciation of their beauty. Thebes, he tells us, "received the lord of the gods in a midnight snow of gold," what time he came down to woo Alcmena.²⁴ At the birth of Athena, too, "the mighty king of the gods once rained snow-flakes of gold upon the town" of Rhodes.²⁵ Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in the wondrous shower: but, that he was, is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the nymph Himalia *διὰ ὄμβρου*, "by means of rain."²⁶ The conception of Zeus-in-the-rainwater is important, because it led on to further developments. The rain formed rillets, and the rillets ran into brooks, and the brooks swelled into streams, so that Homer can call even large rivers "Zeus-fallen" (*διυπετεῖς*)²⁷ and "Zeus-nurtured" (*διοτρεφεῖς*).²⁸ The same connection of ideas can be traced in some of the principal Zeus-cults of Greece. The priest of Zeus *Λυκαῖος*

²¹ *E.g.* Parthen. *narr. amat.*, 6. 6, *φαντάσματος δὲ θείου γενομένου καὶ ἐξαπινάως ὕδατος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος μετέγνω κ.τ.λ.*

²² Aristoph., *Ach.*, 171 *διοσημία 'στὶ καὶ ῥανὶς βέβληκέ με*, with Blaydes' *n.*

²³ Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 947.

²⁴ Pind., *Isthm.*, 7. 5 with schol.

²⁵ Pind., *Ol.*, 7. 34 with schol., Strab., 655.

²⁶ Clem. Rom. *hom.*, 5. 13.

²⁷ The Spercheus (*Il.*, 16. 174), the Xanthus (*Il.*, 21. 268, 326), the Nile (*Od.*, 4. 477; 581). *Cp.* *Il.*, 17. 263 schol. A. *διυπετεός . . . οἱ γὰρ ὄμβροι ἀπὸ Διός*, *Od.*, 4. 477 schol. E. H. Q. *ὅτι φύσει οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐκ Διὸς πληροῦνται, ὥς πον εἶπη "καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει"* (*Od.*, 9. 111), Eustath., 1505, 58, *δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸ ἐκπίπτον ὕδωρ ἐκ Διὸς ὅ ἐστιν αἶρος ποιεῖ Διυπετῇ ποταμόν.*

²⁸ The Scamander (*Il.*, 21. 223).

in Arcadia was rain-maker for the district.²⁹ The official title of Zeus at Dodona was Zeus Νάϊος, *i.e.*, "the stream-god."³⁰ And an Attic relief shows Zeus Μελίχιος seated on the head of the river-god Acheloüs.³¹ Finally, the rivers emptied into the sea, which may have been one reason why Zeus was sometimes regarded as a sea-god. "Aeschylus, son of Euphorion," says Pausanias,³² "applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea." So did another Greek poet cited in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.³³ Oppian³⁴ calls dolphins "the servants of Zeus who thunders in the brine" (ἀλιγδούποιο). An Orphic hymn³⁵ speaks of "Zeus of the deep brine" (πόντιος εἰνάλιος). Proclus³⁶ too mentions a Zeus ἐνάλιος; and Hesychius³⁷ states that Zeus was worshipped at Sidon under the title Θαλάσσιος. Other evidence bearing on the point could be got together;³⁸ but enough has been said to show that the Greeks passed by easy transitions from the recognition of Zeus as a sky-god to the recognition of Zeus as a water-god.

On the other hand, a "bright" sky-god must have stood in some relation to the sun. That luminary appears under various transparent disguises in Greek mythology. Sometimes it is a rayed disk or *swastika* or *triskeles*; sometimes,

²⁹ Paus., 8. 38. 4.

³⁰ The word is in all probability connected with Νάτα (a spring in Laconia : Paus., 3. 25. 4), Ναΐάς, νάω, νᾶμα, &c. Lyc., *Alex.*, 79 f. describes the flood, ὅτ' ἡμάθυνε πᾶσαν ὀμβρήσας χθόνα | Ζηνὸς καχλάζων νασμός, and Orph. *hymn.* 19. 4 addresses Zeus the thunderer as νάμασι παννέφελος στεροπὴν φλεγέθουσιν ἀναιθων. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 178, 185.

³¹ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 2559.

³² Paus., 2. 24. 4.

³³ *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 7 f.

³⁴ Opp., *hal.*, 5. 422 f., προπόλοισι | Ζηνὸς ἀλιγδούποιο.

³⁵ Orph. *hymn.* 63. 16, Γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεύς.

³⁶ Procl. in Plat. *Crat.*, p. 88 Boiss.

³⁷ Hesych., *s.v.* θαλάσσιος Ζεύς.

³⁸ See the passages collected by Farnell, i., 149, to prove that Zeus was worshipped as a maritime god under the titles Ἀποβατήριος, Βύθιος, Λιμενοσκόπος, Σωτήρ.

a wheel or chariot-wheel; sometimes, a golden cup or caldron or bed or boat or a magical ship; sometimes, a bird, a golden lamb, a golden ram, a bull: or again it is a glaring eye in the forehead of a giant, or a man of glowing bronze who makes his circuit once a day. But it will be observed that there is a tendency to connect most of these images with Zeus. The rayed disk of Lycia, the *swastika* of Crete, the *triskeles* of Sicily, have all been regarded as his sacred symbols.³⁹ Ixion was bound to a fiery wheel by Zeus: nay more, Ixion was a by-form of Zeus himself,⁴⁰ who at Chios was known as Γυράψιος, "He of the round wheel."⁴¹ When Prometheus dared to plunge his ferule into the solar wheel,⁴² *i.e.*, to work the celestial fire-drill, it was Zeus whom he offended, for Zeus at Thurii was himself Προμανθεύς, "He of the fire-drill"⁴³: according to the oldest version of the legend extant, Prometheus stole the fire directly from Zeus.⁴⁴ The ship Argo was built by Argus, who has been already identified with the Argive Zeus,⁴⁵ and had inserted in her framework a portion of the oracular Dodonæan oak⁴⁶—obviously in order that Zeus might be aboard his own vessel to direct her course. Aeschylus,⁴⁷ thinking perhaps of Egypt, where the sun was symbolised by a phoenix,⁴⁸ makes Danaus say to

³⁹ For the rayed disk on Lycian coins see *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 327. For the *swastika* in Crete, *ib.* xvii. 410 f., *Annual of the British School at Athens*, ix. 88 f. For the Sicilian *triskeles*, *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 326 f.

⁴⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 420.

⁴¹ Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 537.

⁴² Serv. in *Verg. ecl.*, 6. 42.

⁴³ Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 537. Προμανθεύς is to be connected with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, "fire-stick"; Προμηθεύς, with *pramātha*, "theft" (E. Kuhn *die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 18 f.).

⁴⁴ Hes. *O. D.*, 51 f.

⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 265.

⁴⁶ Apollodor., 1. 9. 16, *alib.*

⁴⁷ Aesch., *suppl.*, 213 f.

⁴⁸ D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, s.v. φοῖνιξ; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii., 96 f., 371 f.

his daughters—"Call ye likewise on yonder bird of Zeus"—to which they reply—"Lo, we call on the saving rays of the sun." In the story of Atreus' golden lamb Zeus causes the sun to travel backwards,⁴⁹ and, since control of the sun's course constituted an equal claim to kingship with possession of the golden lamb, it is not improbable that the golden lamb was the sun itself.⁵⁰ Again, the golden ram, which carried Phrixus and Helle through the air till the latter fell into the Hellespont, affords so close a parallel to the myth of Phaethon that we are forced to interpret it as a piece of solar symbolism.⁵¹ Phrixus, who got safe to Colchis, sacrificed this ram to Zeus Φύξιος and gave its fleece to Aeetes, son of Helios, who hung it on an oak-tree in the grove of Ares: so much we are told by the Greek mythographer Apollodorus,⁵² but a valuable Latin treatise on mythology preserved in a Vatican manuscript adds that the golden fleece stripped from Phrixus' ram was that "in which Zeus climbs the sky"⁵³—a clear case of Zeus being equated with the sun. Similarly Zeus Ἄμμων was at once sun-god and ram-god;⁵⁴ and Herodotus accounts for the yearly clothing of his statue at Thebes with a fresh ram's skin by the quaint tale that Zeus put on the head and skin of a ram before he would show himself

⁴⁹ *Il.*, 2. 106, schol. A.D., *alib.* For the details of the story see *infra*, p. 305.

⁵⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 184.

⁵¹ So Kuhn in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1873, p. 138, Mannhardt in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 1875, p. 243 ff., &c. Strabo 499 asserts that the whole legend arose from the practice of the Soanes, a Colchian tribe, who were said to catch in fleeces the gold that was brought down by mountain torrents. This explanation, though plausible (see Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 70), is—like almost all rationalising explanations—wrong. The golden ram cannot be thus separated from the golden lamb. Besides, the analogy of the myth of Phaethon and the parentage of Aeetes, child of the Sun, confirm the solar connection.

⁵² Apollod., 1. 9. 16.

⁵³ *Myth. Vat.* ed. Angelo Maio, i., 24 (Pelias sent Jason to Colchis) ut inde detulisset pellem auream in qua Jupiter in caelum ascendit.

⁵⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404.

to Heracles.⁵⁵ In Crete the sun was expressly called a bull,⁵⁶ and it is probable that the son of Minos the Cretan king disguised himself as a bull (the Minotaur) when he wore the ritual costume of Zeus.⁵⁷ There is also much to be said for the view that the Cyclops, whose fiery eye is rightly explained as the solar orb,⁵⁸ was an early form of Zeus.⁵⁹ Macrobius indeed—though his *penchant* for solar mythology must always be borne in mind—definitely states that “the ancients call the sun the eye of Jupiter.”⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Hdt., 2. 42. The skin of the victim sacrificed to Zeus Μελίχιος or to Zeus Κρήσιος was known as Διὸς κώδιον, “the fleece of Zeus” (Polemon *ap. Hesych. s.v.*), or Δῖον κώδιον, “the Zeus-fleece” (Polemon *ap. Athen.*, 478 c., Bekker *anecd.*, 242, 26, cp. Eustath., 1935, 9): Suidas, if his text may be trusted, even says that the Greeks called it Δία, “Zeus” (Suid. *s.v. Διὸς κώδιον*). Miss J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 23 ff.), on the strength of the verbs διοπομπεῖν, ἀποδιοπομπεῖν, denies any connexion with Zeus, and refers us to the root appearing in the Latin *dirus*. But why should not these verbs mean practically what Eustathius says they mean—“to send away evil things in the name of Zeus Ἀλεξίκακος” (Eustath., 1935, 13)? Hesychius too connected them with Zeus (Hesych., διοπομπεῖσθαι· καθαίρειν. ἰδίως δὲ τὸ καθαίροντας τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία.); and if Δῖον meant “the Zeus-fleece,” as Polemon, Eustathius, &c., agree that it did, διοπομπεῖν and ἀποδιοπομπεῖν would be perfectly correct formations for “to send away by means of a Zeus-fleece.” Rams’-skins were elsewhere used in the service of Zeus. In the heat of summer, when the dog-star appeared, a procession of young men clad in fresh rams’-skins made its way to the sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on the summit of Mt. Pelion (Dicaearch., 2. 8). And those who consulted the dream-oracle of Zeus Ἀμφιάραος (Dicaearch., 1. 6) at Oropus sacrificed a ram and slept on the skin of it (Paus., 1. 34. 5, with Frazer’s *n.*).

⁵⁶ Bekker, *anecd.*, 344, 10 ff., ἀδιούριος ταῦρος· ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν οὕτω λέγεται. φασι γὰρ τὴν πόλιν μετοικίζοντα ταύρῳ προσεκασθέντα προηγῆσθαι, cp. Apollod., 1. 9. 26, who says of Talos οἱ δὲ Ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν.

⁵⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404-412, where I wrongly identified Minos himself with the Minotaur.

⁵⁸ See W. Grimm, “Die Sage von Polyphem,” in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1857, p. 27 f., and the literature quoted in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 326, *n.* 24.

⁵⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 325 ff.

⁶⁰ Macrobi., *Sat.*, 1. 21. 12, solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas, with Jan’s *n.*

Hesiod uses the phrase "the eye of Zeus";⁶¹ but it is not certain that he is referring to the sun. Better attested is the identification of the bronze giant Talos on the one hand with the sun,⁶² on the other with Zeus.⁶³ This unequivocal conception of a solar Zeus recurs at Amorgos, where a very early inscription⁶⁴ incised on a rock reads:

Ι Ε Υ Ξ	-	-	Zeûs
Η Λ [] Ξ	-	-	"ΗΛ[ι]ς.

At Chios Zeus was entitled Αἰθίοψ, "He of the glowing face."⁶⁵ Throughout Asia Minor he was conceived as a solar power: thus Zeus Ἀσκραῖος of Caria and Lydia is represented on coins of Halicarnassus wearing a rayed crown.⁶⁶ Zeus Ὀσογῶς on a coin of Mylasa⁶⁷ and Zeus Πανάματος (?) on coins of Stratonicea⁶⁸ are similarly adorned. The Phrygian and Galatian Zeus Βροντῶν was related to the sun.⁶⁹ The ritual of the Bithynian Zeus Στράτιος involved an enormous bonfire, which was kindled on a hill-top⁷⁰ and, like the bonfire on Mount Cithaeron at the festival of the Great Daedala,⁷¹ was probably intended

⁶¹ Hes., *O. D.*, 267, πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάντα νοήσας. Cp. Stob. *eccl.*, I. 3. 9, Wachsmuth οὐχ εἶδει Διὸς | ὀφθαλμούς, ἐγγὺς δ' ἐστί, καίπερ ὦν πρόσω.

⁶² Hesych., Ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος.

⁶³ Hesych., Ταλαιός· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ, G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr.* Gr.,² 463, 19 f., τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον, 514, 14, τῷ Ζηνὸς τῷ Ταλλαίῳ.

⁶⁴ Röhl, *Imagines inscr.* Gr. antiquiss.² p. 55, no. 28, Roberts, *Gk. Epigraphy*, i., 191, no. 160 f. Other references to Zeus "Ἥλιος are of Roman date, e.g., *Corp. inscr. Gr.*, 4590, 4604, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 85, *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 9.

⁶⁵ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 537, cp. Eustath., 1385, 62.

⁶⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416, fig. 10.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, p. 417.

⁶⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria, p. 153, pl. 24, 4.

⁶⁹ Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 891, 58 ff.

⁷⁰ Appian *Bell. Mithr.*, 66.

⁷¹ Paus., 9. 3. 1 ff.

as a sun-charm.⁷² For the mainland of Greece the evidence of a solar Zeus is less conclusive. But an inscription from Thoricus, a town on the south-eastern coast of Attica, speaks of a Zeus *Ἀναντήρ*, Zeus "the Scorcher."⁷³ And there are some grounds for supposing that Zeus *Λυκαῖος* was a solar deity: Lycosura, high up on the side of Mount Lycaeus was "the first city that ever the sun beheld";⁷⁴ and in the precinct of Zeus no shadows were cast by man or beast.⁷⁵ However that may be, it is undeniable that there was a tendency among the Greeks, especially among the Greeks of the Archipelago and Asia Minor, to connect Zeus the "bright" sky-god with that most striking manifestation of his brightness—the sun. Rapp,⁷⁶ following the lead of Sonne and Roscher, argues that Zeus the daylight-god was naturally also a sun-god to begin with; but that, as the conception of Zeus developed, his solar characteristics split off from the rest of his attributes and were attached to a fresh sun-god, Apollo: that this process was repeated, Apollo becoming more and more spiritual until his physical function as a sun-god was taken over by yet another personification, Helios, who in turn was endued with traits that are at least anthropomorphic and ethical. Without insisting upon every stage of this evolution we may well grant that Zeus had, so to speak, a solar side to his character. Now the nightly passing of the sun through the western "Gates of Helios"⁷⁷ seems to have led to the belief that the solar Zeus had his dwelling beneath the earth. Zeus "*Ἀμμων*", for example, was identified not merely with the sun but with "the *setting* sun of Libya";⁷⁸ and

⁷² *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 80.

⁷³ See Jessen, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 2264, s. v. "*Auanter*."

⁷⁴ Paus., 8. 38. 1.

⁷⁵ Paus., 8. 38. 6; Theopompus *ap.* Polyb., 16. 12. 7.

⁷⁶ In Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 1994 f.

⁷⁷ *Od.*, 24. 12, 'Ἡελίοιο πύλας.

⁷⁸ Macrobi., *Sat.*, 1. 21. 19, Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant.

a spring in the Ammonium, whose waters were cold at noon but warm in the morning and evening, was called the "Fountain of Helios" ⁷⁹ and was apparently thought to be heated by the presence of Zeus beneath the earth. Similarly at Dodona Zeus had an intermittent spring, which at midday, when the sun was high over head, ceased to flow altogether, while at midnight, when the sun was deep underground, it was at its fullest: ⁸⁰ so potent were its solar virtues that unlighted torches when brought near to it burst into flame.⁸¹ Moreover, the Ammonium and Dodona were the two most famous oracles of Zeus. It would seem that the solar god having seen all things by day with his unwinking eye ⁸² retires by night to his nether home, whence by the agency of his interpreters he sends up knowledge to those that would know. This explains why the great oracular gods of the Greeks were Zeus and Apollo: ⁸³ both of them were solar. Helios ⁸⁴ too, like Zeus ⁸⁵ and perhaps Apollo,⁸⁶ was *πανομφαῖος*, a god "of all prophecy," and had been known to foretell the future in Rhodes.⁸⁷ Other oracular powers were, practically without exception, chthonian in character. But that Zeus was believed to reside under the earth is no mere surmise. The *Iliad*⁸⁸ associates Zeus *καταχθόνιος*, the "underground"

⁷⁹ Hdt., 4. 181, *alib.*

⁸⁰ Plin., *nat. hist.*, 2. 228; cp. *Etym. Magn.*, 98, 22.

⁸¹ Plin., *ib.*; Pomp. Mel., 2. 3. 43; Aug. *de civ. Dei*, 21. 5; Isidor., *orig.*, 13. 10; Lucr., 6. 879 ff.

⁸² *Supra*, p. 272 f, cp. *Od.*, 11. 109, 'Ἡελίου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει and the references given in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 2020, 11 ff.

⁸³ See the list of Greek oracles in Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.*, ii., 285 ff.

⁸⁴ Quint. Smyrn., 5. 626, 'Ἡελίοιο πανομφαίιο.

⁸⁵ *Il.*, 8. 250, *πανομφαίῳ* Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί, *Anth. Pal.*, 6. 52. 2 Simonides, Orph. *Arg.*, 658, 1296.

⁸⁶ If Hermann's *πανομφαῖον* is rightly read in the *hymn. Hom. Merc.*, 473; but see T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*

⁸⁷ Diodor., 5. 56.

⁸⁸ *Il.*, 9. 457, Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνει, cp. *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 7 f.

Zeus, with Persephone. Hesiod⁸⁹ bids the Bœotian farmer pray to Zeus *χθόνιος*, Zeus "of the ground," along with Demeter. Zeus indeed was *χθόνιος*, a subterranean god, not only in poetry⁹⁰ but in actual cult, being worshipped under that title at Olympia,⁹¹ at Corinth,⁹² and in Myconus.⁹³ Aeschylus⁹⁴ makes Danaus assert that in the world below "another Zeus, so men say, judgeth sins with a last judgment among the dead," while the chorus of Danaïds declare: "If we cannot gain the ear of the Olympian gods, we will die by the noose and come with suppliant boughs to Him of the earth (*τὸν γάιον*), the right hospitable Zeus of the dead." An Orphic poem⁹⁵ speaks of the snake which guarded the golden fleece as "a portent of the earthy Zeus" (*χαμαιζήλοιο*). And an epigram of Metrodorus⁹⁶ mentions "a sacrifice to Zeus of the ground" (*οὐδαῖος*). In art too Zeus was sometimes represented as lord of the upper- and under-world alike. Thus a marble statuette in the British Museum shows him seated with the eagle on one side of his throne and Cerberus on the other.⁹⁷ In short, there is abundant evidence to prove that Zeus the sky-god had come, by whatever route,⁹⁸ to be conceived as an earth-god also.

⁸⁹ Hes. *O.D.*, 465.

⁹⁰ Soph. *O.C.*, 1606; Orph. *hymn.*, 41. 7, 70. 2; Nonn. *Dion.*, 27. 93, 36. 98, 44. 258.

⁹¹ Paus., 5. 14. 8.

⁹² Paus., 2. 2. 8.

⁹³ Dittenb.,² 615, 25, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν Διὶ Χθονίῳ, Ἐγὼ Χθονίῳ, δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσια.

⁹⁴ Aesch. *suppl.*, 230 f., 156 ff.

⁹⁵ Orph. *Arg.*, 929, σῆμα χαμαιζήλοιο Διός.

⁹⁶ *Anth. Pal.*, 14. 123. 14 Metrodorus ῥέζετε δ' Οὐδαίῳ Ζανὶ θνηπολίην.

⁹⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Sculpt.*, no. 1531, Farnell, i., 105, pl. 1c.: see also J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i., 305 ff. on "Sarapis."

⁹⁸ Farnell, i., 66, suggests that "This sombre character of Zeus was probably derived, in Attica at least, from his functions as a deity of vegetation." I am far from denying the possible influence of this latter conception. Sky-god *may* have become earth-god not only *vis à* sun-god but also *vis à* rain-god, farmer's-god, &c. But it is, I think, on the whole probable that Zeus as an earth-god preceded Zeus as a farmer's-god, rather than *vice versa*.

We have seen that Zeus the sky-god was also a water-god and an earth-god; that, in fact, the Orphic theologians were not far wrong, when they addressed the Sun as—

ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ Διόνυσσε, πάτερ πόντον, πάτερ αἴης.

“*Shining Zeus-Dionysus, Father of the Sea, Father of the Earth.*”⁹⁹

This differentiation and development of the attributes of Zeus explains, if I am not mistaken, the Homeric myth of the Cronidæ. According to the *Iliad*,¹⁰⁰ Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, the three sons of Cronus and Rhea, divided the world between them. When they cast lots, “Zeus received as his portion the broad sky in the upper air and in the clouds,” Poseidon got “the hoary sea as a perpetual habitation,” and Hades had “the thick darkness of the west.” That it is really Zeus who in three aspects of his own being thus rules the three main divisions of the world, appears in the first place from various passages of ancient literature in which Poseidon is definitely identified with Zeus as a water-god and Hades with Zeus as an earth-god. Proclus¹⁰¹ says of the three sons of Cronus: “The first . . . is called by one name, Zeus; the second, by two names, Zeus of the Sea and Poseidon; the third, by three names, Zeus of the under-world and Pluto and Hades.” The *Etymologicum Magnum*¹⁰² similarly extends the meaning of the word Zeus: “It denotes four things: (a) ‘God’ or ‘the sky,’ as in *Il.* 13. 1 ‘When Zeus had brought the Trojans,’ &c. (b) ‘Poseidon,’ as in *Od.* 5. 304(?) ‘Zeus stirred up the sea,’ &c. (c) ‘The under-

⁹⁹ Orph. *hymn. frag.* 235 Abel.

¹⁰⁰ *Il.* 15. 187 ff.

¹⁰¹ Procl. *in Plat. Crat.*, p. 88 Boiss., ὁ μὲν πρῶτος . . . καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεὺς · ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διναδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Αἰδης.

¹⁰² *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 4 ff., σημαίνει δὲ τέσσαρα · τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς τὸ “Ζεὺς δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶας”—τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ὡς τὸ “Ζεὺς δὲ κατὰ πόντον ἐτάραξεν”—τὸν καταχθόνιον θεόν, ὡς τὸ “Ζεὺς δὲ καταχθόνιος”, ὁ Πλούτων, Ἰλιάδος ἰ,—καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, “ἵκετ’ αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀγῆς.”

ground god,' as in *Il.* 9. 457 'Both the underground Zeus,' &c., *sc.* Pluto. (*d*) 'The sun,' as in *Il.* 13. 837 'Reached the upper air and the rays of Zeus.' " Eustathius¹⁰³ too, whose knowledge of Greek mythology was immense, declares: "Zeus or Zen is a name common to the brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades." If it be objected that these and other similar identifications¹⁰⁴ are all literary and may be merely metaphorical,¹⁰⁵ it is possible to point to a few definite cults of Zeus-Poseidon and Zeus-Hades. A god who bore the compound title Zeno-Poseidon¹⁰⁶ was worshipped in Caria. His temple stood beside a river in a place where thunderbolts were supposed to fall with especial frequency;¹⁰⁷ and he appears on coins of Mylasa holding an eagle in his left hand and resting on a trident with his right.¹⁰⁸ As to Zeus-Hades, Dr. Farnell¹⁰⁹ justly observes: "The chthonian Zeus undoubtedly appeared in the group of Zeus-Hades in the temple of Athene Itonia at

¹⁰³ Eustath., 763, 52, ἰδὸν τὸ Ζεὺς ἦτοι Ζῆν κοινὸν ὄνομα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἄιδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

¹⁰⁴ Schol. Opp. *hal.*, 5. 423, Ζηνὸς ἀλιγδοῦποιο · Neptunus, Eur. *Κρήτες frag.*, 904 Dind. Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἄϊδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις, Orph. *hymn.*, 18. 3 f. Ζεῦ χθόνιε σκηπτουῖχε, τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως · | Πλούτων, ὃς κατέχεις γαίης κληῖδας ἀπάσης, Nonn. *Dion.*, 27. 77, Ζηνὶ καταχθονίῳ δεδαϊγμένον, Ἄϊδι, πέμψω, Hesych. Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος · ὁ Ἄϊδων, ἦγουν ὁ Ἄϊδης and χθόνιος Ζεὺς · ὁ Ἄϊδης, schol. *Il.*, 15. 188, ὁ δὲ Ἄϊδης . . . καὶ Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος . . . καὶ Πλούτων.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. Gruppe, p. 1094 f. "Wenn Poseidon Meerzeus heisst, so ist das zunächst nur eine Vergleichung, die ausdrückt, dass er auf dem Meere dieselbe Macht hat, wie Zeus im Himmel. So ist wahrscheinlich auch die Bezeichnung des Hades als Zeus Chthonios oder Katachthonios zu verstehen; denn *wenn gleich Zeus in einer sehr fernen Vergangenheit mit Zügen des unterweltlichen Herrschers ausgestattet worden ist*, so hat diese begonnene Theokrasie später schwerlich mehr nachgewirkt." In the words that I have italicized Gruppe grants at least half my contention.

¹⁰⁶ Macho *ap.* Athen., 337 c, *Corp. inscr. Gr.*, 2700 add., Collitz, *Gr. Dialektinschr.* 5163 b, 12: see Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. "Osogoa."

¹⁰⁷ Theophrast. *ap.* Athen., 42 A.

¹⁰⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria, p. 132 f., nos. 31, 32, 37.

¹⁰⁹ Farnell, i., 105.

Coronea,—which Pausanias and Strabo both mention, the one naming the god Zeus, the other Hades.”¹¹⁰ And E. Rohde¹¹¹ collected the evidence for the cult of a chthonian Zeus *Βουλεύς* or *Εὐβουλεύς*. Further, if Poseidon and Hades were but variant forms of Zeus, fresh light is thrown on several ancient myths, such as that¹¹² which made Heracles single-handed vanquish the trio Phœbus,¹¹³ Poseidon, and Hades at Olympia; or that¹¹⁴ which made Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo simultaneous suitors for the hand of Thetis; or that¹¹⁵ which made Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes (or Apollo) co-parents of Orion. Again, the art-types of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades are extraordinarily similar. The substantial points of resemblance and the slight points of difference between Zeus and Poseidon have been minutely studied by Overbeck.¹¹⁶ But in the end we have to admit Zeus-like Poseidons and Poseidon-like Zeuses, or figures which might appropriately bear the name of either god. So with Hades: Dr. Farnell¹¹⁷ notes “the close resemblance which the type of Zeus bears to that of Hades through all the periods of Greek art.” As Scherer¹¹⁸ puts it, “His whole appearance is that of a

¹¹⁰ Paus., 9. 34. 1, Strab., 411.

¹¹¹ Rohde, *Psych.*³ i., 207, n. 2, 210, n. 1. Cp. the inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΟΥΤΗΟΣ on a base from Halicarnassus (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1812).

¹¹² Pind. *Ol.*, 9. 31 ff. with schol.

¹¹³ Probably a pious substitution for Zeus; for another myth made Heracles wrestle successfully against Zeus himself at Olympia (Lyc. *Alex.*, 40 ff. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*).

¹¹⁴ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 178.

¹¹⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 81 f.

¹¹⁶ Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, ii., 245 ff. “Poseidon ist als grosser Kronide und Bruder des Zeus in der ganzen bildenden Kunst der Alten eine der Hauptsache nach ganz zeusartige Erscheinung; das springt bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung sofort in die Augen, während die Verschiedenheiten in der Darstellung beider Götter gesucht und studirt werden sollen.” Cp. Preller-Robert, p. 594 f.

¹¹⁷ Farnell, i., 105.

¹¹⁸ In Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 1794.

modified Zeus, 'a weak imitation of the ruler of Olympus, a shadow too in comparison with the living form of his brother Poseidon.' Art represented the three sons of Cronus as externally very similar, but distinguished them by a rendering of their characteristics and attributes." Finally, I would venture to maintain ¹¹⁹ that the name of Zeus is an integral part of the names of both Poseidon and Hades. For, if the known varieties of these three names be arranged side by side, it will appear that they have a common element *Da-* or *Dau-*, which are forms of the name of Zeus:

{	Zeus.	Δεὺς Δᾶν (acc.) Δάν, &c.	= The "bright" sky-god.
	Poseidon.	ποτεί-Δας ποτει-Δά F-ων ποτει-Δάν, &c.	= "Zeus in the water" (πότος).
	Hades.	ἄϊ-Δεὺς (?) ¹²⁰ ἄϊ-Δάας ^{120a} ἄϊ-Δας ἄϊ-Δάων ^{120b} ἄϊ-Δων ἄϊ-Δωνεύς, &c.	= "Zeus of the earth" (αἶα).

The first element in these forms of the name of Poseidon¹²¹ is probably *πότει*, the locative case of *πότος*, "drinking-water," so that Poseidon on this showing would be strictly "Zeus-in-the-drinking-water," a rain-Zeus or river-Zeus such as we have already detected. This corresponds, more-

¹¹⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 175 f.

¹²⁰ A doubtful form: see Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1794 f., Gruppe, p. 1100, n. 1.

^{120a} Hesych. Αἰδάας (leg. 'Αἰδάας) . δεσπότης; Suid. Ἀηδᾶς (leg. 'Αἰδᾶς) . ὁ δεσπότης. For δεσπότης as an epithet of Hades see C. F. H. Bruchmann *epitheta deorum*, p. 2. But further light is needed.

^{120b} Hesych. 'Αἰδαον · ἄδου. But M. Schmidt (ed. maj.) cj. 'Αἰδαιο, which may be right.

¹²¹ H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxiii., 1 ff., 193 ff.) was the first to point out that Ποσειδῶν means the Water-Zeus. Sonne (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Spr.*, x., 183) suggested that the ποσει- of Ποσειδῶν was a locative case. It is, however, necessary to derive forms beginning with ποτει- or ποτοι- (see the list in Gruppe, p. 1152 n.) from πότος, not πόσις.

over, with what is known otherwise of Poseidon's antecedents. Mr. Marindin, for example, writes :¹²² " Poseidon seems to have been worshipped originally by the oldest branches of the Ionic race in especial. It is possible that when they were an inland people mainly, he was the god of running streams and wells, and that as they occupied more and more sea-coast towns his worship took particularly the form, which eventually everywhere prevailed, appropriate to the god of the sea. In Thessaly, a well-watered country, without many sea-ports, his character was that of a god of rivers." There is much evidence of Poseidon as a god of rivers, springs, and wells :¹²³ but, though his appearance in a dream, according to Artemidorus,¹²⁴ portends rain, and though a scholiast on Homer¹²⁵ expressly connects him with the rainfall and remarks that the month of the winter rains was called Ποσειδεῶν, it is probable that the fresh-water aspect of Poseidon was terrestrial rather than celestial. That is to say, Poseidon as a chthonian god¹²⁶ manifested himself in the deep-sunk wells, in the springs that bubbled up from the ground, in the streams that gushed out of the rock.¹²⁷ But in either case, whether the river was regarded as fallen from Zeus the sky-god or risen from Zeus the earth-god, Poseidon would be with equal propriety named " Zeus-in-the-drinking-water." Similarly the first element in the name of Hades appears to be αἴα,

¹²² Smith-Marindin, *Class. Dict.*, p. 751.

¹²³ Preller-Robert, p. 585 ff., Gruppe, p. 1147.

¹²⁴ Artemid. *oneirocr.*, 2. 38.

¹²⁵ Schol. *Il.*, 15. 188, καὶ ὕετοί νῆμα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔχουσι * καὶ Ἀττικοὶ τὸν περὶ χειμερινούς τροπὰς μῆνα Ποσειδεῶνα καλοῦσιν.

¹²⁶ Preller-Robert, p. 583 ff., Gruppe, p. 1139 f.

¹²⁷ *E.g.*, Aesch. *sept. c. Theb.*, 307 ff., ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐτραφέστατον πωμάτων | ὕσων ἵησιν Ποσειδᾶν ὁ γαῖοχος, Plat. *Critias*, 113 E, (Ποσειδῶν) τὴν . . . νῆσον οἷα δὴ θεὸς εὐμαρῶς διεκόσμησεν, ὕδατα μὲν διττὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἄνω πηγαῖα κομίσας . . . τροφήν δὲ παντοίαν καὶ ἱκανὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδούς.

"the earth." Hades would thus be "Zeus-of-the-earth,"¹²⁸ a conception for which we have already found ample justification.

In early times the Greeks, like other semi-civilized peoples, ascribed to their gods a plurality of heads, arms, legs, &c., with a view to expressing superhuman powers. For instance, Typhon had a hundred heads,¹²⁹ Briareus a hundred arms,¹³⁰ Scylla a dozen feet.¹³¹ Naturally the numbers differed in different myths, or even in different forms of the same myth. Without attempting to be exhaustive in the matter, we may here mark two main tendencies. (a) In the first place, the total was commonly reduced, sooner or later, to three. This reduction may, no doubt, have been due in part to artistic convenience:¹³² to depict a hundred arms or even a dozen feet in a realistic or convincing way was difficult, if not impossible. But it was also due in part to a yet more elementary difficulty, viz., the primitive inability to count beyond two, which, as Professor Tylor¹³³ long since showed, has left traces of itself both in the popular conception of the numeral three as a kind of superlative and in the grammatical recognition of singular, dual, and plural. These

¹²⁸ H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxiii., 211) hints at this derivation: in support of Ποσειδῶν = the Water-Zeus he says—"Diese deutung wird noch eine sehr kräftige bestätigung erhalten, wenn es mir gelingen sollte den namen des dritten Zeus 'Αἰδῶς in ganz analoger weise zu deuten." G. F. Unger (*Philologus*, xxiv., 385 ff.) attempted to explain 'Αἰδῶς as the patronymic form of αἶα. My own belief (*Class. Rev.*, xvii., 176) is that *ai-i-Δης, "Zeus-of-the-Earth," passed into α-ι-Δης, with initial α lengthened to compensate for the loss of ι: see Hoffmann, *die griech. Dialekte*, iii., 318 f.

¹²⁹ Pind., *Ol.*, 4. 7, *Pyth.*, 8. 16; Aesch. *P. V.*, 353 f.; Aristoph., *nub.*, 336.

¹³⁰ *Il.*, i., 402 f.; Plut. *de amic. mult.*, 6; Apollod., i. 1. 1; Palaeph., 20.

¹³¹ *Od.*, 12. 89; Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 650.

¹³² See Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 1126, 11 ff.

¹³³ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,³ i., 265.

usages are alike common in Greek.¹³⁴ Indeed, corresponding to our nursery-rhyme—¹³⁵

“ One’s none,
Two’s some,
Three’s a many,
Four’s a penny,
Five’s a little hundred ”—

a late Greek proverb¹³⁶ says :

εἷς οὐδεὶς,	One’s none,
δύο πολλοί,	Two’s a many,
τρῆς ὄχλος,	Three’s a crowd,
τέσσαρες πανήγυρις	Four’s a congregation.

We have, therefore, some warrant for supposing that for the unsophisticated Greek three was tantamount to “ a number,” a typical plurality. Hence Typhon the hundred-headed was also represented as a three-bodied monster both in literature¹³⁷ and in art.¹³⁸ Scylla, according to one account, has not six heads but three.¹³⁹ Pindar¹⁴⁰ and Horace,¹⁴¹ using a poet’s license, might give Cerberus a hundred heads—Hesiod¹⁴² gave him fifty—but he was ordinarily thought to have three.¹⁴³ The number of heads

¹³⁴ On the use of three as a superlative in Greek see H. Usener, “Dreiheit,” in *Rhein. Museum*, 1903, N. F., lviii., 357 f.

¹³⁵ Tylor, *op. cit.*, i., 264.

¹³⁶ Usener, *loc. cit.*, p. 357, n 1.

¹³⁷ Eur. *Herc. fur.*, 1271 f.

¹³⁸ A pediment-group in *poros*-stone found on the Akropolis at Athens : see Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art dans l’Antiquité*, viii., 217, pl. 3, Th. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 73 ff., pl. 4. A black-figured vase in the Museo Archeologico at Florence : see Wiegand, *ib.*, p. 77, fig. 84.

¹³⁹ Anaxilas *ap. Athen.*, 558 A ; Eustath., 1714, 37 f.

¹⁴⁰ Schol. Hes. *theog.*, 311.

¹⁴¹ Hor. *od.*, 2. 13. 34.

¹⁴² Hes. *theog.*, 311 f.

¹⁴³ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 1126.

assigned to the Lernæan Hydra by Greek authors varies from ten thousand down to one: Greek artists were content with from twelve to three.¹⁴⁴ Geryones was regularly three-bodied or at least three-headed,¹⁴⁵ in which peculiarity his hound Orthros sometimes resembled him.¹⁴⁶ (b) A second well-marked tendency of Greek religious art in its early stages was towards the representation of divine power by means of a double or Janiform head. The Lacedæmonians had a cultus-statue of Apollo with four ears and four hands¹⁴⁷; and small bronze figures with several arms holding a bow, &c., have actually been found on Greek soil.¹⁴⁸ On a fine *stamnos* in the Berlin collection the wind-god Boreas has a Janiform head.¹⁴⁹ Coins of Tenedos show a bearded and a beardless profile of Dionysus joined together in the same way¹⁵⁰: coins of Thasos, a double-faced Satyr.¹⁵¹ Hermes, whose statue by Telesarchides in the Ceramicus had four heads,¹⁵² was represented in the Attic deme Ankyle

¹⁴⁴ *Ib.*, i., 2769.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.*, i., 1630 ff.

¹⁴⁶ *Ib.*, iii., 1218.

¹⁴⁷ Zenob., i. 54, quotes the following explanation of the proverb ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσαρα ὦτα ἔχοντος: "Others say that the proverb bids men hearken to them that speak truly. None is less likely to lie than Apollo, whose statue the Lacedæmonians erected having four hands and four ears, as Sosibius declares, because he appeared in that guise to those who fought at Amyclæ." Similar statements occur in Diog., 2. 5, and Apostol., i. 93. Cp. Hesych. s.v. *κουρίδιον*: "The Laconians give the name *κουρίδιον* to their four-handed Apollo," s.v. *κυνακίας*: "*Κυνακίας*, straps from the hide of the ox sacrificed to four-handed Apollo, which are given as prizes," Liban., i., 340, 5 Reiske ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀμφαλοῦ τέτταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ' ἕκαστον τμήμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται · οἶον ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τετραχείρου ἀγάλματι.

¹⁴⁸ Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 449, 53 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Annali dell' Instit.*, 1860, xxxii., pls. L. M. See M. Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, p. 116, n. 151, and Rapp in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 808 ff.

¹⁵⁰ P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. 10, 43.

¹⁵¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Thrace, p. 221, no. 51 f.

¹⁵² Eustath., i. 353, 7 f.; Phot. s.v. Ἑρμῆς τετρακέφαλος, Hesych. s.v. Ἑρμῆς τρικέφαλος, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, ii., 172, 2, 3.

by a three-headed figure,¹⁵³ and appears on gems and coins with a Janiform head.¹⁵⁴ Other examples of "Janustypen" are collected by Roscher,¹⁵⁵ who maintains that the double-herm of the Greeks gave rise to the two-headed Janus of the Italians. Perhaps we should be nearer the mark if we held that Greeks and Italians alike inherited the same primitive conception from an immemorial past.¹⁵⁶

It remains to apply these results to the particular case of Zeus. Was he too ever credited with a multitude of members? Were they at any time represented by a total of three? Was he anywhere Janiform in appearance? Now it may be at once admitted that the worship of Zeus the bright sky-god had from the first an upward and elevating tendency, which made for henotheism, not to say monotheism. I cannot refrain from quoting Professor Lewis Campbell's¹⁵⁷ beautiful rendering of two passages in which Aeschylus sets forth his own conception of Zeus. The first is spoken by the chorus of Danaïds:¹⁵⁸

Let highest in mind be most in might.
The choice of Zeus what charm may bind?
His thought, 'mid Fate's mysterious night
A growing blaze against the wind,

¹⁵³ Harpocrat. *s.v.* τρικέφαλος with Gronovius' n.; Suid., *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; Hesych., *s.v.* Ἑρμῆς τρικέφαλος; Tzetz. in Lyc. Alex., 680; Apostol., 17. 23; Phot., *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; *Etym. Magn.*, 766, 24 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 2415 ff., Furtwängler *Die Antiken Gemmen*, ii., 131, pl. 26, 32, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, i., 459, fig. 551. Cp. Lucian *Jupp. trag.*, 43 οἱοί εἰσι τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἔνιοι, διττοὶ καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοιοί.

¹⁵⁵ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 53 ff.

¹⁵⁶ It is possible that the two-headed type was a modification of the three-headed type. A Greek vase from the Gargiulo collection, published in the *Bulletino Napolitano*, N. S., vi., 17, pl. 2 (= S. Reinach *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, i., 493) shows a bearded male head composed of three faces conjoined. Looked at from almost any point of view this presents the exact appearance of a Janiform head. Hermes τρικέφαλος may similarly have given rise to a Hermes δικέφαλος. Further evidence bearing on the point will be considered in connection with the Italian Janus, who appears sometimes, though exceptionally, with three faces, not two.

¹⁵⁷ L. Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, p. 273 f.

¹⁵⁸ Aesch., *suppl.*, 85 ff.

Prevails :—whate'er the nations say,
His purpose holds its darkling way.

What thing his nod hath ratified
Stands fast, and moves with firm sure tread,
Nor sways, nor swerves, nor starts aside :
A mazy thicket, hard to thread,
A labyrinth undiscovered still,
The far-drawn windings of his will.

Down from proud towers of hope
He throws infatuate men,
Nor needs, to reach his boundless scope,
The undistressful pain
Of Godlike effort ; on his holy seat
He thinks, and all is done, even as him seems most meet.

The other passage¹⁵⁹ is put in the mouth of a chorus of old men, who are perplexed by what is virtually the problem of evil :

Zeus,—by what name soe'er
He glories being addressed,
Even by that holiest name
I name the Highest and Best.
On him I cast my troublous care,
My only refuge from despair :
Weighing all else, in Him alone I find
Relief from this vain burden of the mind.

One¹⁶⁰ erst appeared supreme,
Bold with abounding might,
But like a darkling dream
Vanished in long past night
Powerless to save ; and he¹⁶¹ is gone
Who flourished since, in turn to own
His conqueror, to whom with soul on fire
Man crying aloud shall gain his heart's desire,—

Zeus, who prepared for men
The path of wisdom, binding fast
Learning to suffering. In their sleep
The mind is visited again
With memory of affliction past.
Without the will, reflection deep
Reads lessons that perforce shall last,
Thanks to the power that plies the sovran oar,
Resistless, toward the eternal shore.

¹⁵⁹ Aesch. *Ag.*, 160 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Uranus.

¹⁶¹ Cronus.

When the Greek conception of Zeus had reached this level, and was destined to rise to yet higher heights,¹⁶² barbaric beliefs were bound to be forgotten and left behind in the valley. Zeus was now contrasted, rather than compared, with the old polymorphic powers of nature. He figures as the foe of the Titans, not as a Titan himself, though their name, as M. Mayer¹⁶³ has shown, may well be a mere reduplication of his own. He chains the fifty-headed and hundred-handed Briareus in a subterranean prison.¹⁶⁴ He blasts with his thunderbolt the hundred-headed Typhon.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless there are not wanting indications that Zeus himself had been at one time on much the same footing as these his monstrous rivals. Argus, the Argive Zeus, surnamed Πανόπτης, "the All-seeing," had eyes all over his body.¹⁶⁶ They might be reckoned at a hundred,¹⁶⁷ or for that matter at ten thousand.¹⁶⁸ Pherecydes,¹⁶⁹ however, obeying what we may call the law of triadity, declared that Argus had but three eyes, one of which was in the back of his head. Others, following the second of the rules enunciated above, represented Argus as having a Janiform head. This is

¹⁶² *E.g.*, in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. For the former see Plat., *Phileb.*, 30 D, *Tim.*, 29 D—30 B, *alib.* For the latter, Aristot. *met.*, 12. 7. 1072 b. 2, 15 ff., 1074 b. 33 ff., *alib.*

¹⁶³ M. Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, p. 81, compares Τῖ-τάν with Cretan forms of the names of Zeus, such as Τῖῃνα, Τῖῃνα, Τάνα, Τανός, Τάν, and supports the τ of the supposed reduplication by Σίσυφος (cp. σοφός, σέσσυφος), πῖφάσσω, τῖταινω.

¹⁶⁴ Hes. *theog.*, 147 ff., 617 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Ib.*, 821 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Apollodor., 2. 1. 2, schol. *II.*, 2. 103, *alib.*

¹⁶⁷ Ov. *met.*, 1. 625, Mythograph. Vatic., 1. 1. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Aesch., *P. V.*, 568 f.

¹⁶⁹ Pherecyd. *ap.* schol. Eur. *Phæn.*, 1116, ἄργος, ᾧ ἦρα ὀφθαλμὸν τίθησιν ἐν τῷ ἰνίῳ. A krater at Ruvo shows Argus with three pairs of eyes, two of which are on his breast and two on his thighs (*Monumenti inediti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, ii. pl. 59 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, i. 111, 4).

probably implied by a fragment of the *Aegimius*,¹⁷⁰ which speaks of him as "looking this way and that with four eyes." Cratinus¹⁷¹ the comedian wrote a play called the *Πανόπται*, in which the members of the chorus had "two heads apiece and countless eyes." The vase-painters also sometimes conceived of Argus as possessing a double set of eyes. An early Chalcidian amphora now at Munich¹⁷² gives him a pair of eyes in the ordinary position and an extra pair on his breast. A black-figured Attic amphora, now at Naples,¹⁷³ shows him with a Janiform head composed of a bearded and an unbearded face, united under a *petasos*, or flat felt hat: his body, wherever visible, is marked with a series of eyes.

It appears, then, that the Argive Zeus was sufficiently barbaric to conform to the multiple, the triple, and the dual types of divinity. Probably, however, it was the triple type that appealed most strongly to the popular mind and received the sanction of actual worship. For, on the one hand, threefold sight recurs as a family peculiarity among the descendants of Argus: his grandson was called Triopas, "the Three-eyed."¹⁷⁴ And, on the other hand, the cult of a three-eyed Zeus flourished at Argos for well over a millennium. Pausanias,¹⁷⁵ writing in the second century of our era, tells us that he saw on the Argive Larisa "a wooden image of Zeus with two eyes in the usual place, and a third eye on the forehead. They say that this Zeus was the paternal (*πατρῶον*) god of Priam, son of Laomedon, and stood in the courtyard under the open sky; and when Ilium

¹⁷⁰ Hes. *Aeg.*, frag. 5 Kinkel, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοπον Ἄργον ἔει κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε, | τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

¹⁷¹ Meineke, *frag. com. Gr.*, ii., 102, κράνια δισσὰ φορεῖν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' εὐκ ἀριθμητοί.

¹⁷² *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1890-1891, pl. 12, 1 a. b.

¹⁷³ *Revue Archéologique*, iii. 309 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, i., 419, fig. 508.

¹⁷⁴ Paus., 2. 16. 1; Hyg. *fab.*, 124, 145.

¹⁷⁵ Paus., 2. 24. 3, Frazer.

was taken by the Greeks, Priam fled for refuge to this god's altar. In the division of the spoil Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, got this image, and that is why it stands here." The cult thus attested for Argos and Troy probably extended to other Pelasgian towns. It is significant that the name Triopas occurs again as that of a religious founder at the Carian Triopium.¹⁷⁶ A Rhodian hero, the son of Helios and Rhodos, bore the same name.¹⁷⁷ Triopas or Triops was also the father of Merops the Coan.¹⁷⁸ Rhodes and Cos had alike in early days been peopled by Carians,¹⁷⁹ and the Carians were but one tribe of the Pelasgian stock;¹⁸⁰ so that the four personages named Triopas thus far mentioned were all probably Pelasgians. Again, a certain Triopas was king of the Pelasgians at Dotium in Thessaly, where dwelt the clan of the Triopidæ.¹⁸¹ Another king of the Perrhæbians, who occupied a part of Thessaly known as Pelasgiotis,¹⁸² was called Triopas.¹⁸³ Lastly, the father of Pelasgus himself bore the same name.¹⁸⁴ It can hardly be doubted that the name Triopas or Triops, wherever it occurs, has reference to the cult of the three-eyed Pelasgian Zeus. The same deity figures in a Peloponnesian legend. When the Heraclidæ returned to the Peloponnese, an oracle bade them take as their guide "the Three-eyed One" (τὸν τριόφθαλμον). They followed a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye,¹⁸⁵ apparently not realising the drift of the oracle. But on entering the promised land they built three altars to Zeus Πατρῶος, "Paternal"

¹⁷⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 76 f.

¹⁷⁷ Diod., 5. 56, 61; cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.*, 7. 131, Suid. *s.v.* Αἰθων.

¹⁷⁸ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μέροψ, schol. vet. Theocr., 17. 68.

¹⁷⁹ W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, i., 197 f.

¹⁸⁰ *Ib.*, i., 183 ff.

¹⁸¹ Callim. *hymn. Dem.*, 25 ff.

¹⁸² Aesch. *suppl.*, 256.

¹⁸³ Schol. *Il.*, 4. 88; Eustath., 448, II.

¹⁸⁴ Hellanicus *ap.* schol. *Il.*, 3. 75; Paus., 2. 22. 1; Hyg. *fab.* 145.

¹⁸⁵ Paus., 5. 3. 5 f.; cp. Apollod., 2. 8. 3, Suid. *s.v.* τριόφθαλμος.

Zeus, and cast lots for Argos, Lacedæmon, and Messene.¹⁸⁶ In all probability the Paternal Zeus of the Heraclidæ, like the Paternal Zeus of Priam, was the three-eyed Pelasgian god.¹⁸⁷

The Greeks, forgetful of their own past, were somewhat puzzled by this type of a triple deity. The explanation usually given was that such and such a god or goddess ruled in three different departments of nature. Thus the triple Hecate, a strange form introduced into art by Alcamenes a contemporary of Pheidias,¹⁸⁸ was regarded by Orphic writers as the mistress of sky, sea, and earth.¹⁸⁹ Tzetzes¹⁹⁰ states that Hermes was three-headed "as being a sky-god, a sea-god, and a land-god." Porphyry¹⁹¹ sug-

¹⁸⁶ Apollod., 2. 8. 4.

¹⁸⁷ H. Usener in his "Dreiheit" (*Rhein. Museum*, 1903, N. F., lviii., 161 ff.) argues that a divine triad, conceived as having three bodies, may degenerate into a single body with three heads or faces or eyes. Thus Hecate, who was usually represented as three complete figures back to back, is often *τρικάρηνος*, a three-headed herm, sometimes *τριπρόσωπος* with a three-faced head, and once at least *τρίγληνος* with a three-eyed face (*ib.*, pp. 163-166, 184). He therefore takes the name Triopas to imply "eine Verkürzung ursprünglicher Dreileibigkeit" (*ib.*, p. 183 ff.). This argument, though I accepted it in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 75, now appears to me inconclusive. *Three* eyes may be, and probably are, an original equivalent or a later abbreviation for *many* eyes. Further than this we cannot go with safety.

¹⁸⁸ Paus., 2. 30. 2, with Frazer's n., Farnell, ii., 551 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Orph. *hymn.*, 1. 1 f. *εἰνοδίην Ἑκάτην κλέζω, τριοδίτην, ἑρεμνήν, | οὐρανίην χθονίην τε καὶ εἰναλίην*, cp. Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 23. 6, *ἄρχει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ Ἑκάτη, ὡς συνέχουσα τὸ τρίστοιχον* (*sc.* air, earth, water). More often the triple Hecate was regarded as a trinity of Selene + Artemis + Persephone, representing the heaven, the earth, and the underworld (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1890, 43 ff., Farnell, ii., 553).

¹⁹⁰ Tzetz. *in Lyc. Alex.*, 680, *Τρικέφαλος ἑαυτὸς ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ὡς οὐράνιος, θαλάσσιος καὶ ἐπίγειος*. He adds alternative explanations, more far-fetched than this.

¹⁹¹ Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 4. 23. 6, *μήποτε οὐτοί εἰσιν ὧν ἄρχει ὁ Σάραπις, καὶ τούτων σύμβολον ὁ τρίκρανος κύων, τουτέστιν ὁ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, ὕδατι, γῇ, ἀέρι, πονηρὸς δαίμων ὃς καταπαύει ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἔχων ὑπὸ χεῖρα*.

gests that the three-headed hound of Sarapis symbolised the evil spirit that made its appearance "in water, earth, and air." The same explanation served for the three-eyed Zeus. Indeed, in his case it was peculiarly appropriate, since, as we saw at the outset, the primary conception of Zeus as a sky-god had actually given rise to the two secondary conceptions of Zeus as a water-god and Zeus as an earth-god. Hence Pausanias was no fool when, after describing the old image of Zeus on the Argive Larisa, he continued¹⁹²: "The reason why it has three eyes may be conjectured to be the following. All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—

Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine.

Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called." At Corinth the same thought seems to have found a less grotesque expression. "Of the images of Zeus," says Pausanias,¹⁹³ "which are also under the open sky, one has no surname: another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest." It is commonly supposed, though the supposition is not quite inevitable, that here too we have a sea-Zeus, an earth-Zeus, and a sky-Zeus.¹⁹⁴

Zeus had a sacred tree, the oak.¹⁹⁵ If we ask why the oak in particular should have been sacred to him, the later

¹⁹² Paus., 2. 24. 4, Frazer.

¹⁹³ Paus., 2. 2. 8, Frazer.

¹⁹⁴ For other possible examples of the Zeus-triad see *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff. (Cnossus), 416 (Aphrodisias), 417 (Mylasa), xviii., 75 f. (Xanthus), 79 (Phrygia and Galatia), 84 (Eleusis), 84 ff. (Athens).

¹⁹⁵ Schol. Aristoph., *av.* 480, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ δρῦς τοῦ Διὸς ἐστίν, ἔπαιξε παρὰ τὴν δρῦν, ἣ ἐστὶν ἱερὰ τοῦ Διὸς, *alib.*

Greek writers reply that Zeus was the life-giving god, and that the oak, thanks to its acorns, was the life-supporting tree of primitive man.¹⁹⁶ But it is obvious that this explanation depends for its validity on an etymology that we now know to be mistaken, viz. the supposed connection between the words *Ζεύς* and *ζῆν*, "to live." More probable is the view¹⁹⁷ that the oak represented to the Greeks the Yggdrasill-tree of Germanic mythology. This world-tree (*Weltbaum*), as it used to be called, or cloud-tree (*Wolkenbaum*), as it is termed nowadays, was an enormous ash, which with its three stems¹⁹⁸ spread throughout the world towards heaven and earth and hell.¹⁹⁹ It is described as an ash (*askr*), that being the highest leaf-tree of the north.²⁰⁰ But further south the oak was the principal tree. Consequently the name *askr* was transferred from the ash to the oak: Hesychius mentions *ἄσκρα* as a kind of oak,²⁰¹ and Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος* was certainly an oak-god.²⁰² It is,

¹⁹⁶ Cramer *anecd. Gr. Paris.*, iii., 213, 8 ff. φηγὸς ἡ δρῦς, ἣν τῷ Διὶ ὡς ζωογόνῳ ἀφιέρωσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ζωοτρόφον φυτὸν οὔσαν. πάλαι γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δρυκάρποις ἐτρέφοντο, Eustath., 594, 33 ff. οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν Δία, ἧγον τὸν ἄερα, ζῆς εἶναι αἴτιον τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῇν δρῦν πάλαι ποτὲ χρηματίζσαι, ὅτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι δρυκάρποις ἀπετρέφοντο, διὸ καὶ φηγὸς ἡ δρῦς λέγεται, παρὰ τὸ φαγεῖν, διὰ τοίνυν ταῦτα τῷ Διὶ τὴν δρῦν ἀνέρωσαν τὸ ζωοτρόφον φυτὸν τῷ ζωογόνῳ, *id.* 664, 35 ff. On the Greek derivation of *Ζεύς* from *ζῆν*, a derivation as old as the sixth century B.C., see Gruppe, p. 1101, n., Th. Gomperz *Greek Thinkers*, i., 64, 86. On the oak as the oldest food-tree, P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit*, i., 34 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Advanced, though without adequate proof, by Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes*, ii., 65 ff.

¹⁹⁸ J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* trans. Stallybrass, p. 796, says "three roots"; but see E. H. Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, ii., 653, n. "Yggdrasill mit den drei Stämmen (nicht Wurzeln)."

¹⁹⁹ Further details in Grimm *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁰ Bugge *Stud.*, i., 528, cited by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 81.

²⁰¹ Hesych., *ἄσκρα* · δρῦς ἄκαρπος. O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People*, p. 226, identifies *askr* with *ἄσκρα* and further connects *ἄσπρος* or *ἄσπρις*, a variety of oak spoken of by Theophr. *hist. plant.*, 3. 8. 7.

²⁰² *Infra*, p. 296.

therefore, not surprising to find that the mid-European and south-European equivalent of Yggdrasill's ash was an oak. Throughout Finland, Esthonia, and other parts of Russia folk-songs and folk-tales tell of an oak the top of which reaches the sky and supports the sun, who lives on it or goes to rest on it.²⁰³ Thus the Finns believe in an oak with golden branches, which cover the sky. The Esthonians, in an oak on which is built a bath-house: the window of this bath-house is the moon, and on its roof the sun and stars disport themselves. Other Russian stories tell how an old man once climbed an oak that towered up to the sky, and found on it a bird, which could not be burnt with fire or drowned in water: how in the island of Bujan grows an oak on which the sun passes the night: &c., &c. In Anjou certain tree-shaped cloud-formations are known as "le chêne de Montsabran" and "le chêne marin": they portend a rain-storm and fine weather respectively.²⁰⁴ That in the Greek area also the oak was at one time a world-tree is far from improbable. The fleece of the golden ram (= the sun ²⁰⁵) hung on an oak in Colchis and guarded by a sleepless snake²⁰⁶ certainly recalls the Russian oak on which the sun goes to rest guarded by the dragon Garafena.²⁰⁷ But more direct evidence is available. Clement of Alexandria²⁰⁸ has preserved a fragment of a work by Isidorus, son of Basilides, in which he says: "I would have our would-be philosophers learn the meaning of *the winged oak-tree and the embroidered mantle upon it*, in fact of the whole allegory which Pherecydes took from the prophecy of Cham and

²⁰³ A. de Gubernatis, *Myth. des Plantes*, i., 94, ii., 76 f., Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 375 f.

²⁰⁴ P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, i. 128.

²⁰⁵ *Supra*, p. 271.

²⁰⁶ Apollod., i. 9. 16.

²⁰⁷ A. de Gubernatis, *Myth. des Plantes*, ii. 77, after Mannhardt.

²⁰⁸ Clem. Alex. *strom.*, 6. 6, p. 767, 32 ff. Potter, καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς προσποιουμένους φιλοσοφεῖν, ἵνα μάθωσι τί ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρυς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον φᾶρος, πάντα ὅσα Φερεκύδης ἀλληγορήσας ἐθεολόγησεν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χάμ προφητείας.

used in his own theology." Clement and Isidorus are alike intent upon showing that the Greeks borrowed all their wisdom from the Hebrews, so that we may probably discount "the prophecy of Cham." It is at least as likely that Pherecydes of Syros, who was a prominent Orphic teacher at Athens about the middle of the sixth century B.C., worked into his philosophic speculations a bit of genuine Greek folk-lore. In another passage²⁰⁹ Clement quotes a sentence from Pherecydes himself: "*Zas made a great and beautiful mantle and embroidered thereon the earth and Ogenos and the abode of Ogenos.*" Ogenos was Oceanus,²¹⁰ so that the embroidered mantle represented both land and sea. Further light on the matter could hardly have been looked for. But, by a singular stroke of good fortune, a papyrus-scrap of the third century A.D., acquired by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt²¹¹ for the Bodleian Library, was found to contain a couple of columns from the *Πεντέμυχος*, the lost work of Pherecydes; which columns give us the context of the very sentence quoted by Clement. It now becomes clear that Pherecydes was describing the marriage of Zeus and Hera.²¹² Zas or Zeus, among other preparations for the ceremony, made a richly-dight mantle representing land and sea, and apparently spread the same (by way of bridal couch?) on the summit of a winged oak. In view of the

²⁰⁹ *Ib.*, 6. 2, p. 741, 16 ff. Potter, Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος λέγει · Ζᾶς ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει γῆν καὶ Ὠγῆνον καὶ τὰ Ὠγῆνον δώματα.

²¹⁰ Tzetz. *in Lyc. Alex.*, 231, τοῦ Ὠγένου καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ, Hesych., Ὠγῆν · Ὠκεανός.

²¹¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri.*, Second Series, No. 11, p. 21 ff., pl. 4.

²¹² Cp. Eratosth. *cataster.*, 3, Φερεκύδης γὰρ φησιν, ὅτε ἐγαμεῖτο ἡ Ἥρα ὑπὸ Διός, φερόντων αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν δῶρα τὴν Γῆν ἐλθεῖν φέρουσαν τὰ χρύσεια μῆλα · ἰδοῦσαν δὲ τὴν Ἥραν θαυμάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν καταφυτεῦσαι εἰς τὸν τῶν θεῶν κῆπον, ὃς ἦν παρὰ τῷ Ἀτλαντι · ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων παρθένων αἰεὶ ὑφαιρουμένων τῶν μῆλων κατέστησε φύλακα τὸν ὄφιν ὑπερμεγέθη ὄντα. Here too we have a snake-guarded tree brought into connexion with the supporter of the sky.

world-oak or cloud-oak of central and southern Europe, we may well regard the "winged oak" of Pherecydes as a similar cosmogonic tree.²¹³

Both the sky-tree and the sky-god had their counterparts on earth. Corresponding to the celestial oak that formed the residence of Zeus, an ordinary terrestrial oak marked each centre of Zeus-worship among men. In the *Classical Review* for 1903-1904²¹⁴ I have collected most of the evidence bearing on this point. Here I may be allowed to quote a few typical or outstanding examples, premising that in every case, so far as I can judge, they may be referred to the Pelasgian stratum of Greek religion. The Pelasgian Zeus Νάϊος at Dodona had a sacred oak growing in a sacred oak-grove: his oracles were given by the rustling of its branches, by an intermittent spring at its foot, by a golden dove (or two doves, or three) perched upon it, &c.²¹⁵ Zeus Ἄμμων in the Libyan Oasis seems to have been the god of a very early Greek settlement: he too had an oracular oak in an oak-grove, a variable spring, sacred birds (two ravens, or a dove), and methods of divination that resembled those of the Dodonæan Zeus.²¹⁶ Coins of Phaestus in Crete represent Zeus Φελχανος as a youthful god seated in an oak and holding a cock on his knee: since *Velchanos* is commonly supposed to be the same word as *Volcanus*, and

²¹³ Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, i., 89, conjectures "that the garment spread by Zas over the winged oak was merely a pictorial expression of the belief that the kernel or framework of earth was adorned by this first principle of life with the beauty that it now wears."

²¹⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 174-186, 268-278, 403-421; xviii., 75-89, 325-328.

²¹⁵ *Ib.*, xvii., 178-186, 408.

²¹⁶ *Ib.*, xvii., 403 f. To the passages that I have there cited as proving the existence of a sacred oak and an oak-grove at the Ammonium (*viz.*, Clem. Alex. *prot.*, 11 Dindorf = Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 2. 3 Dindorf, *γεράνδρον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμῳ, τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε*, Sil. Ital., 3. 688 ff., *mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus | exiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus | a prima uenere die : prisco inde pauore | arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris*) should be added Plin. *nat. hist.*, 13. 63, circa Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et persea et oliua, CCC a Nilo stadiis, siluestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.

the cock—Pausanias tells us—was sacred to the Sun, it would appear that Zeus *Ἡλῆανος* was a fire-god or sun-god conceived as residing in an oak.²¹⁷ Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*, the "Oak"-god of the Carians and Lydians, figures on coins of Halicarnassus as a bearded deity crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird: the rayed crown implies that Zeus was here solar, and the two birds suggest that he was oracular.²¹⁸ In Pamphylia Zeus bore the title *Δρύμνιος*, "he of the Oak-thicket."²¹⁹ In Phrygia he was *Βαγαῖος*, the "Oak"-god.²²⁰ At Troy grew "the fine oak of ægis-bearing Zeus," as Homer calls it, on which Athena and Apollo sat in the form of eagles.²²¹ At Heraclea Pontica two oaks had been planted by Heracles beside the altar of Zeus *Στράτιος*.²²² At Scotussa in the Pelasgian district of Thessaly Zeus was worshipped as *Φηγωναῖος*, "he who dwells in the Oak."²²³ And in Aegina the oak beneath which Aeacus had prayed was "sacred to Zeus."²²⁴ In short, all round the Aegean Sea we come across traces of an oak-Zeus, *i.e.*, of a Zeus believed to reside in or on an oak-tree.

But just as the world-tree varied from ash to oak in passing from north to south of Europe, so the tree that marked the residence of Zeus on earth differed in different localities. Substitutes for the oak were the poplar, the olive, the plane, &c., according to local changes of vegetation. It should, however, be remarked that all these trees were called by names elsewhere used to denote the oak; and further, that it is always possible to trace some botanical resemblance between the oak and its surrogate.

²¹⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 413, fig. 8.

²¹⁸ *Ib.*, xvii., 415 f., fig. 10.

²¹⁹ *Ib.*, xvii., 419.

²²⁰ *Ib.*, xviii., 79.

²²¹ *Ib.*, xviii., 78.

²²² *Ib.*, xviii., 79 f.

²²³ *Ib.*, xvii., 414.

²²⁴ *Ib.*, xvii., 405.

Schrader²²⁵ points out that *αἰγειρος*, "a poplar," is derived from the same root as *αἰγίλωψ*, "the winter- or Valonia-oak," *αἰγανέη*, "an oaken spear," *aesculus* (*aeg-sculus), "an evergreen oak," *Eiche*, "an oak,"—is in fact the same word as our own *oak*. This change of meaning probably arose in some district where the poplar, not the oak, was the finest tree.²²⁶ It would be facilitated by the fact that some sorts of poplar resemble in foliage some sorts of oak. Thus Pausanias,²²⁷ describing a species of oak called *παιδέρωσ*, says: "Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar." Nicander²²⁸ speaks of the same tree as "the equivalent of the white poplar." This similarity between oak and poplar was in all probability the reason why the white poplar was sacred to Zeus at Olympia. When Heracles first sacrificed to him there he burned the victims "on wood of the white poplar"²²⁹ and ever afterwards the Eleans used no other wood for the sacrifices of Zeus.²³⁰ Indeed, at Lepreum, an Elean town some fifteen miles from Olympia, Zeus was surnamed *Λευκαῖος*, "he of the White Poplar" (*λεύκη*).²³¹ Coins of Sardes show Zeus *Λύδιος* holding a sceptre and perhaps an

²²⁵ Schrader *Reallex.*, pp. 164, 207.

²²⁶ In the opinion of Dr. W. Leaf the white poplar is nowadays the finest tree in Greece: see his note on *Il.*, 13. 389.

²²⁷ Paus., 2. 10. 6, Frazer.

²²⁸ Nicand. *frag.* 2. 55 f. *παιδὸς ἔρωτες | λεύκη ἰσαίμενοι*.

²²⁹ Paus., 5. 14. 2. Heracles had found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron (cp. *Il.*, 13. 389 *ἀχερώϊς* and Eustath. 938, 62 ff.); for Hades, the earth-Zeus, had carried off Leuce, the white-poplar nymph, to his realm below, and had caused white poplars to grow in the Elysian fields (Serv. in Verg. *ecl.*, 7. 61). See further C. Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 441 ff.

²³⁰ Paus., 5. 13. 3, 5. 14. 2.

²³¹ Paus., 5. 5. 5, with Frazer's *n*.

eagle as he stands beneath a poplar tree.²³² And in the mouth of the Idæan Cave, where Zeus Κρηταγενής was thought to dwell, there grew a marvellous poplar that was said to bear fruit.²³³

Elsewhere the principal tree was the olive, and Zeus was connected with olives. This was the case at Athens, where Zeus Μόριος was guardian of the sacred olive-trees called the μορίαι ἐλαίαι.²³⁴ That the Greeks traced a similarity between the oak and the olive is clear from the fact that they sometimes called the Valonia-oak ἐλαῖς, *i.e.* the "olive"-oak.²³⁵ Probably, as in the case of the white poplar, it was the combination of a light surface with a dark which suggested the comparison.²³⁶ Similarly a species of wild-olive termed φυλία is described as "resembling the evergreen oak."²³⁷ The wild-olive was sacred to Zeus at Olympia, having been brought there by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans to supply a dearth of trees: it had this peculiarity, that the upper, not the under, side of its leaves was white.²³⁸

In Crete the finest tree is the plane.²³⁹ Tradition said that Zeus had consorted with Europa at Gortyn under an evergreen plane. This tree, on account of its remarkable foliage, Theophrastus compared with an oak growing at Sybaris;²⁴⁰ and coins of Gortyn show a female figure seated in a tree that is sometimes a plane, more often an oak.²⁴¹

²³² *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 418, fig. 15.

²³³ *Ib.*, xvii., 407. Other examples of the poplar as a substitute for the oak in Greek mythology are cited *ib.*, xvii., 181, 273, 419 *n.* 3, xviii., 76.

²³⁴ *Ib.*, xviii., 86 f.

²³⁵ Hesych., ἐλαῖς · αἰγίλωψ.

²³⁶ The word *φauλία* could denote both a kind of olive and the white poplar (Hesych. *s.v.* *φauλία*).

²³⁷ Hesych. *s.v.* *φυλείης*.

²³⁸ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 273. On the olive as a substitute for the oak see further *ib.* xviii., 82, *n.* 2.

²³⁹ Höck, *Kreta*, i., 40.

²⁴⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404.

²⁴¹ *Ib.*, xvii., 405.

The plane-tree by Agamemnon's hut at Aulis, and the plane-trees planted by him at Delphi and at Caphyæ in Arcadia, have probably a similar significance; for in Laconia, if not also in Attica, there was a cult of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων.²⁴²

Other trees are connected with Zeus on occasion. Zeus Συκάσιος was named after the fig-tree.²⁴³ Zeus Ἑλικώνιος, after Mount Helicon, which perhaps means the mountain of "willow"-woods (ἐλίκη).²⁴⁴ Zeus bearing an eagle is enthroned with a palm-tree before him on a coin of Alexander the Great.²⁴⁵ And the use of Διὸς βάλανος, "the acorn of Zeus," as a name for the chestnut²⁴⁶ implies that the god stood in some special relation to this tree also.

As the celestial tree had its counterpart in the terrestrial, so the sky-god himself had a visible representative on earth. The traditional epithets of the Homeric kings, "Zeus-born" (Διογενής), "Zeus-nurtured" (Διοτρεφής), "divine" (Δίος), "god-like" (θεοειδής, θεοείκελος, ἀντίθεος, ἰσόθεος), and the stock phrase, "to honour such an one like a god" (θεὸν ὥς), were doubtless conventional formulæ on the lips of the Pelasgian minstrel; but they were based on

²⁴² *Ib.*, xvii., 277. See also Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 117. The plane as a mythical equivalent of the oak occurs also in the story of Helen: cp. the plane-tree of Helen at Sparta (Theocr., 18. 44 ff.) with the oak-tree on which she hanged herself in Rhodes (Ptolem. *nov. hist.*, 4, p. 189 Westermann).

²⁴³ Eustath., 1572, 56 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ καθάρσιος · τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο, φασίν, ἐν καθαρμοῖς; see Höfer in Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2560. Hesych. *s.v.* φυλείης says: "φυλία is a kind of wild-olive, or according to others of fig-tree, while others again describe it as a species of tree resembling the evergreen oak."

²⁴⁴ For Zeus Ἑλικώνιος see Hes. *theog.*, 4, and schol. *ad loc.* Yet one name for the Valonia-oak was ἔλιξ (Hesych. *s.v.*); Call. *hymn. Del.*, 81 ff., mentions oaks and oak-nymphs on Mt. Helicon; and Ἄσκρα, the "Oak"-town, lay at its foot.

²⁴⁵ M. W. de Visser, *de Græcorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, p. 122. Cp. *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 410.

²⁴⁶ Stephanus, *Thesaurus Gr. Ling.* ii., 69 c-d.

an old Pelasgian belief that the king was indeed divine,²⁴⁷ being none other than Zeus incarnate. That this was so, I infer partly from a consideration of several early Greek myths, partly from the occasional recrudescence of the belief in historical times, and lastly from the direct testimony of ancient authors.

Let us take the myths first. The story of Salmoneus is given with most detail by Apollodorus,²⁴⁸ who says: "Salmoneus . . . came to Elis and founded a town there. He was a proud man and fain to place himself on a level with Zeus; for which impiety he was punished. For he declared that he was Zeus, and depriving Zeus of his sacrifices he bade men offer them to himself. He attached to a chariot leather thongs with bronze caldrons and trailing them after him said that he was thundering; he tossed blazing torches towards the sky and said that he was lightening. Zeus therefore struck him with a thunderbolt and destroyed the town founded by him and all its inhabitants." The mythographer of course, judging from a later standpoint, regards Salmoneus as a paragon of impiety. But, that he was no such exceptional sinner, appears from the case of his own sister Alcyone. "Ceyx, son of Heosphorus, married Alcyone. They perished through their overweening pride. For Ceyx declared that his wife was Hera; Alcyone, that her husband was Zeus. Zeus then changed them into birds, making the one a halcyon, the other a ceyx."²⁴⁹ Apollodorus must needs tax them both with superhuman conceit: but in point of fact they were within their rights. The same primitive custom perhaps underlies the legend²⁵⁰ that Polytechnus and Aëdon

²⁴⁷ This belief is rather near the surface in such a passage as *Il.*, 24. 258 f., where Priam speaks of his son "Hector, who was a god (*θεός*) among men, nor was he like unto the son of a mortal man, but of a god (*θεοῖο*)."

²⁴⁸ Apollod., I. 9. 7.

²⁴⁹ *Ib.*, I. 7. 4.

²⁵⁰ Anton. Lib., II. See *Class Rev.*, xviii. 80 f.

impiously claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera. Again, Agamemnon king of Mycenæ was called Zeus in Laconia.²⁵¹ So was Amphiaræus son of Oicles at Oropus.²⁵² So was Trophonius son of Erginus at Lebadea,²⁵³ where Zeus also bore the significant title, Βασιλεύς, "the King."²⁵⁴ According to Panodorus, Zeus reigned as a king in Egypt for twenty years; according to Manetho, for eighty.²⁵⁵ The tale that Zeus visited Alcmena in the form of Amphitryon perhaps had a similar foundation²⁵⁶; and this may have been the case with several other "Liebesverbindungen" of Zeus.²⁵⁷ Conversely, the relations of Ixion to Hera,²⁵⁸ of Tantalus to Dione,²⁵⁹ &c., point in the same direction.

Even in historical times it was no unheard of thing for a man to be regarded as a god. Empedocles in the fifth century B.C. addresses his fellow-townsmen of Agrigentum thus²⁶⁰: "Friends . . . all hail! Lo, as an immortal god, no longer a mortal, I make my way honoured of

²⁵¹ Lyc. *Alex.*, 1124, Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμόλοις κληθήσεται, 1369 f., πρῶτος μὲν ἤξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμόνυμος Ζεὺς, cp. 335. *Supra*, p. 299, n. 242.

²⁵² Dicæarch., 1. 6, τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ. See Rohde *Psyche*,³ i., 125, n. 2.

²⁵³ Strab., 414, Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον. See Rohde, *ib.*, n. 1.

²⁵⁴ C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, 589, 90 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως κ.τ.λ., 1115 Νέων Φασκώ[νδασ] ἀγωνοθετεῖ[σας] τὰ Βασίλεια τὸ ἐληγοχρί[στιον] ἀνέθηκε τοῖ [Δι] τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] κ[ῆ] τῇ πόλι, 1392, 8 f. τῷ Δι τῷ Βασιλεῖ κ[ῆ] τῷ Τροφωνίῳ ἱερὸν.

²⁵⁵ C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, ii., 531, E. A. Wallis Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i., 165.

²⁵⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 409. Just as Heracles was the seed of Zeus, but Iphicles of Amphitryon, so in another myth Dardanus and Iasius were the sons of Electra, "sed Dardanus de Iove, Iasius de Corytho procreatus est" (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.*, 3. 167).

²⁵⁷ On these see Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie* Zeus, i., 398 ff.

²⁵⁸ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 420.

²⁵⁹ Hyg. *fab.*, 9, 82, 83.

²⁶⁰ Emped. *frag.*, 112 Diels, ὦ φίλοι . . . χαίρετ' · ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός κ.τ.λ.

all, as is fitting, crowned with fillets and green garlands. Whensoever with them, both men and women, I come to a flourishing town, there am I worshipped. They follow along with me in countless throngs, fain to enquire what is the path to prosperity: some ask for oracles; others in all manner of diseases hear and hearken to my healing voice, albeit long pierced with sore pains." Since the historicity of Lycurgus the Spartan law-giver is still a moot point,²⁶¹ I will not appeal to the fact that in later days he was worshipped as a god (θεός).²⁶² But after the battle of Aegospotami in 405 B.C. another Spartan, Lysander, was certainly recognised as a god: altars were erected to him, offerings brought, and pæans sung, while the Samians actually changed the name of their immemorial festival, the Heræa, to Lysandrea in his honour.²⁶³ At Athens Cratinus more than once spoke of Pericles as Zeus,²⁶⁴ and a well-known passage in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes²⁶⁵ says:

"Then Pericles the Olympian in wrath
Lightened and thundered and confounded Greece."

These phrases of the comedians voiced a belief that had been latent among the Athenians for centuries. The popular champion was the embodiment of Zeus. Hence, when Demetrius Poliorcetes entered Athens in 302 B.C., "the people received him not only with frankincense and garlands and libations of wine, but also with processions

²⁶¹ G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, i.,² 569, n. 1.

²⁶² *Ib.*, 578, n. 2.

²⁶³ Plut., *vit. Lys.*, 18, Athen., 696 E, Hesych., s.v. Λυσάνδρεια.

²⁶⁴ Plut., *vit. Per.*, 3, ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρῳσι · "Στάσις δὲ (φησὶ) καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε μέγιστον | τίκτετον τύραννον, | δν δὴ κεφαλῇγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι" · καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει · "μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ καραίε," 13 καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν · "ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται | Περικλέης" κ.τ.λ. Aspasia he dubbed Hera (Plut. *vit. Per.*, 24, schol. Plat., p. 391), as did Eupolis apparently (Hesych. s.v. βοῶπις).

²⁶⁵ Aristoph., *Ach.*, 530 f.

and choruses and phallic companies, dancing and singing the while: as they sang and danced, they crowded after him, chanting that he was the one true god (θεός), the other gods being asleep or away from home or non-existent."²⁶⁶ Demetrius must have posed as Zeus; for on the spot where he descended from his horse was built a sanctuary of Demetrius Καταιβάτης,²⁶⁷ as though he were Zeus Καταιβάτης; his title Πολιορκητής was perhaps an ambitious imitation of Zeus Πολιεύς or Πολιοῦχος;²⁶⁸ and a mantle woven expressly for him is described as "a superb piece of work made to represent the universe and the celestial bodies."²⁶⁹ Alexander the Great was regarded not merely as the son of Zeus,²⁷⁰ but as Zeus himself: he was painted by Apelles holding a thunderbolt,²⁷¹ i.e. with the universally acknowledged attribute of Zeus. Even Menecrates of Syracuse, court-physician to Philip of Macedon, assumed the title Menecrates Ζεύς on account of his life-giving powers and went about wearing a purple robe and a golden crown to look the part.²⁷² Examples could be multiplied; for among the Hellenistic successors of Alexander cases of deification are common.²⁷³ If I am right in my conjecture, they must be considered as due to a recrudescence of the early Pelasgian belief in the essential divinity of the king.

Finally, Tzetzes, whose authority in matters of mythology is not small, definitely asserts that the ancient Greeks used to call their kings "Zeuses" (Δίες). Thus, for

²⁶⁶ Athen., 253 c. The words of the ithyphallic song, a remarkable composition, are quoted in the sequel.

²⁶⁷ Clem. Alex., *protrept.*, 4. 54, p. 48 Potter.

²⁶⁸ Plut. *vit. Demetr.*, 42.

²⁶⁹ *Ib.*, 41.

²⁷⁰ Callisth. *ap.* Strab., 814; Ephipp. *ap.* Athen., 537 E.

²⁷¹ Plin. *nat. hist.*, 35. 92. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404, n. 1.

²⁷² Athen., 289 A-290 A; Plut. *vit. Ages.*, 21; Ael. *var. hist.*, 12. 51.

²⁷³ See e.g. Dr. F. F. Hiller von Gärtringen in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 186 ff., and the literature cited in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 278, n. 1.

instance, after telling us that Minos was the son of Zeus Ἀστέριος, he adds: "In by-gone days it was customary to call all kings Zeuses." This statement, which is repeated several times by him in different connections,²⁷⁴ was clearly one of his regular canons of interpretation. Nor does Tzetzes stand alone in the matter. The famous grave of Zeus on Mt. Jukta in Crete, which according to one account²⁷⁵ bore the inscription—

ὧδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν
 "Here lies dead Zan, whom men call Zeus,"—

according to others²⁷⁶ was the tomb of King Minos. On this and other grounds it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Minos was held to be a human embodiment of Zeus.²⁷⁷ He was in fact one of those "consecrated men whom the Greeks call *Zanes*"—to quote a much misunderstood phrase from Macrobius.²⁷⁸ Further, if Minos was a man-god of this sort, we can understand the contention of Euhemerus²⁷⁹—which took such a hold upon the imagination of the Romans²⁸⁰—that Zeus had been a former king of Crete.

It appears, then, that mythology, history, and literature alike bear witness to the early Greek belief that the king was a human Zeus. Now we have seen that Zeus, primarily the god of the bright sky, became both a water-god and an

²⁷⁴ Tzetz. *antehom.*, 102, οἱ πρὶν γάρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλειον βασιλῆας, *chil.*, 1. 474 τοὺς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνέκαθε Δίας ἐκάλουν πάντας, 2. 160 τὸ δ' ὅπως πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας ἐκάλουν, εἶπον, cp. 164 τὰς βασιλίδας δὲ θεάς, 174 ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος βασιλεὺς, 197 Ζεὺς τις ὑπάρχων βασιλεὺς, 5.454 Δίας γὰρ πρὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκάλουν, 9.454 τοὺς πρὶν γὰρ πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας οἱ πρὶν ἐκάλουν, in *Lyc. Alex.*, 88 Δίας οἱ παλαιοὶ πάντας ἐκάλουν τοὺς βασιλεῖς.

²⁷⁵ Porph. *vīt Pyth.*, 17; cp. Enn., *frag.* 526 Bährens.

²⁷⁶ Schol. Call. *hymn. Iov.*, 8.

²⁷⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff.

²⁷⁸ Macrobi. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 6, animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Græci vocant, dis debitas æstimabant. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 412.

²⁷⁹ Höck, *Kreta*, iii., 331 ff.

²⁸⁰ *E.g.* Lactant., *div. inst.*, 1. 11, Firm. Mat., 6. 1, 16. 1.

earth-god. Certain functions of the human Zeus too may be grouped under the same three headings. As viceroy of the bright sky-god he had control of the sun, and was expected to feed its flames. As representing the god of showers and storms, he could cause rain to fall or evoke a sudden thunderstorm. As an earth-god incarnate, he was responsible for the crops in their season, and after death became a ruler in the underworld. Traces of all these powers can be detected here and there among the remnants of Greek legendary lore and ritual practice.

Minos, for example, married Pasiphae, a daughter of Helios,²⁸¹ and received as a present from Hephaestus or Zeus the bronze man Talos,²⁸² whose name means "the sun."²⁸³ Solar, too, in character were the Labyrinth, which was represented by a *swastika* pattern,²⁸⁴ and the Minotaur within it.²⁸⁵ Minos, therefore, was believed to have the sun in his custody. Aetetes also, whose father was Helios, possessed the fleece of the golden ram that symbolised the sun.²⁸⁶ Atreus prided himself upon a golden lamb, again a solar symbol, which he kept shut up in a coffer. Thyestes stole it by guile, and then declared to the people that the man who owned the golden lamb ought to be king. To this Atreus agreed; and it looked as though the kingdom would pass from him to Thyestes. But Zeus sent Hermes and bade Atreus make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. This miracle was accepted as proof of Atreus'

²⁸¹ Roscher, *Lex.*, iii., 1666, where Türk observes that Πασιφαίης is an epithet of Helios (Orph. *hymn.*, 8. 13 f., ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εὖδιε, πασιφαίης, κόσμον τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα).

²⁸² Apollod., i. 9. 26; Ap. Rhod., 4. 1641.

²⁸³ *Supra*, p. 273, n. 62.

²⁸⁴ *Class Rev.*, xvii., 410 f.

²⁸⁵ *Ib.*, 410, *supra*, p. 272.

²⁸⁶ *Supra*, pp. 271 f., 293 f.

fitness for the throne; and Thyestes was driven into banishment.²⁸⁷ Perdiccas, the first king of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, acquired the kingdom in the following way. On reaching the country he and his two elder brothers took service with the king of Lebæa as herdsmen. The king, alarmed by an omen, dismissed them; and when they demanded their pay offered them, in a fit of infatuation, the sunlight that was streaming into the house through the chimney. The two elder brothers stood and gaped: but Perdiccas with a knife traced the contour of the sun on the floor, and having thrice drawn the sunshine into his bosom departed. Ultimately he won the kingdom to which he had thus established his claim.²⁸⁸

Not only was the sun-king, as these myths show, thought to possess and control the solar orb, but he was also bound to feed its flames. In Crete Talos renewed his heat by leaping into a fire;²⁸⁹ and the oak-Zeus was served elsewhere by enormous bonfires kindled from time to time on the hill-tops. Appian²⁹⁰ has preserved an interesting account of a sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος. "Mithradates," he says, "offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present . . . and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1,000 stades (125 miles) from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat." This description

²⁸⁷ Schol. *Il.*, 2. 106.

²⁸⁸ Hdt., 8. 137 f.

²⁸⁹ Semonid. *ap.* Suid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Eustath., 1893, 7.

²⁹⁰ App. *bell. Mithr.*, 66, White.

recalls Pausanias'²⁹¹ account of the bonfire on the top of Cithæron kindled once in sixty years at the Great Dædala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt. "On the summit of the mountain an altar has been got ready. They make it in this fashion:—They put together quadrangular blocks of wood, fitting them into each other, just in the same way as if they were constructing an edifice of stone. Then, having raised it to a height, they pile brushwood on it. The cities and the magistrates sacrifice each a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and burn the victims, which are filled with wine and incense, together with the images (*i.e.*, the oak-brides) on the altar. Rich people sacrifice what they please: persons who are not so well off sacrifice the lesser cattle; but all the victims alike are burned. The fire seizes on the altar as well as the victims, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that rises so high, and is seen so far." It is highly probable that both these bonfires were intended not merely as a means of sending food, &c., aloft to the sky-god,²⁹² but also as a sun-charm—the great conflagration replenishing the solar powers of the oak-Zeus.²⁹³ Coins of Amasia, which illustrate the Pontic rite show a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming: beside it are two trees with twisted trunks, and above it in some specimens hovers an eagle or the sun-god in his chariot or both.²⁹⁴ Appian's phrase "the kings themselves carry wood to the heap" tersely expresses the primitive duty of the sun-king.²⁹⁵

But this duty was not confined to an occasional bonfire on a big scale. Fires were normally burning before the tree that marked the residence of the god. Thus Silius Italicus says of the oracular oak in the Libyan Ammonium:

²⁹¹ Paus., 9. 3. 6 ff., Frazer.

²⁹² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii., 278, Roscher, *Lex.* i., 2620.

²⁹³ Cp. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii., 300 ff.

²⁹⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Pontus, &c., pp. xvii., 12, pl. 2, 2-6.

²⁹⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 180 f., 185, xviii., 78, 80, 84.

"The tree has a god within it and is worshipped with flaming altars."²⁹⁶ This statement is borne out by the coin-types of Asia Minor. Coins of Aphrodisias in Caria represent a sacred tree fenced in and flanked by two lighted altars:²⁹⁷ coins of Attuda, a tree with a single lighted altar in front of it.²⁹⁸ Coins of Sardes show Zeus *Λύδιος* on a pedestal beneath a poplar-tree: before him blazes a large altar decorated with figures in relief; and amid the flames can be distinguished the heads of four bulls.²⁹⁹ On coins of Mastaura in Lydia a lighted altar stands garlanded beside a cypress-tree.³⁰⁰ Coins of Mostene have the same scene with the addition of a male figure on horseback carrying a double-axe and wearing a crown of rays: the radiate crown proves the solar character of the rider.³⁰¹ An altar in front of a tree planted beside a temple of Zeus occurs on coins of Diocæsarea in Cilicia.³⁰² An altar by a tree figures repeatedly on coins of Amasia in Pontus.³⁰³ A coin of Prusa in Bithynia represents Caracalla, sceptre in hand, sacrificing at an altar, which burns before a tree: above the tree is an eagle.³⁰⁴ And, lastly, a coin of Elaea in Aeolis shows a male figure in military costume, probably Herennius Etruscus, sacrificing at a lighted altar placed beneath a tree.^{304a}

Between such altars and the perpetual fires or lamps of Greek religion no sharp distinction can be drawn. Plutarch does not mention the altars that flamed before the oak of the Ammonium; but he does tell us that a perpetual lamp

²⁹⁶ *Sil. Ital.*, 3. 691. See *supra*, p. 295, n. 216.

²⁹⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416, fig. 13.

²⁹⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria, &c., p. 66, pl., 10, 17.

²⁹⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 418, fig. 15.

³⁰⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Lydia, p. 159, pl. 17, 4.

³⁰¹ *Ib.*, pp. lxxvi., 162 ff., pl. 17, 10, 12, 14.

³⁰² *Ib.*, Lycaonia, &c., p. 72, pl. 12, 14.

³⁰³ *Ib.*, Pontus, &c., pp. 8, 10, 11, 12.

³⁰⁴ *Ib.*, p. 197, pl. 35, 7.

^{304a} *Ib.*, Troas, &c., p. 132, pl. 26, 7.

was burning there, and adds that every year it used less oil, whence the priests inferred that the years were getting shorter and shorter.³⁰⁵ Apparently they believed that the annual orbit of the sun regulated, or rather was regulated by, their lamps—a belief which might indeed “utterly abolish the science of mathematics,”³⁰⁶ but was for all that by no means inconsistent with the pretensions of primitive man.³⁰⁷ Now the cult of Zeus *Ἄμμων* was thoroughly typical of the Pelasgian Zeus-cult in general. It is therefore probable that the same simple-minded belief obtained elsewhere, and that the maintenance of the sun’s heat was commonly connected with (perhaps thought to depend on) the up-keep of the perpetual fire or lamp. This—and, I venture to hold, nothing short of this—will explain the consternation felt when the flame by some accident was extinguished: there was then a danger that the sun itself might fail. This enables us also to understand why such fires among the Greeks were tended by women past the age of child-bearing: the perpetual fire represented the sun, and the idea that women may be impregnated by the sun is common to Greece and many other lands.³⁰⁸ Lastly, the same hypothesis will account for the method by which the Greeks re-kindled their perpetual fires when there was need to do so. Plutarch³⁰⁹ says: “In Greece where they have a perpetual fire, at Pytho and Athens for example, it is tended not by virgins, but by women too old to marry. Should it by any chance go out, as the sacred lamp at Athens is said to have done during the tyranny of Aristion and that at Delphi when the temple was burnt by the Medes, whilst during the Mithridatic and Social Wars at Rome the fire disappeared

³⁰⁵ Plut. *de def. orac.*, 2.

³⁰⁶ Plut., *ib.*, 3.

³⁰⁷ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 115 ff.

³⁰⁸ *Ib.*, iii., 220 ff.

³⁰⁹ Plut. *vit. Num.*, 9. Similarly the need-fire of the Lemnians was fetched, not indeed from the sun, but from Delos, the island of the sun-god (Philostrat., *heroica*, p. 740).

along with the altar, they say that it must not be lighted from any other fire, but that they must make it fresh and new by rekindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun. They usually do this by means of concave mirrors, whose shape is determined by the revolution of an isosceles rectangular triangle, so that all the lines from the circumference meet at a centre. When therefore the mirror is held over against the sun, it collects all the reflected rays and concentrates them at this one point: the air here becomes rarefied, and light dry matter on being subjected to it is soon kindled, since the ray acquires the substance and active force of fire." A perpetual fire of the sort here described was, as Dr. Frazer has shown,³¹⁰ simply a survival of the king's hearth, and as such it was regularly maintained in the *prytaneum* or residence of the king. It is therefore permissible to suppose that the Pelasgian king, who kept a fire constantly burning on his hearth, was the earthly counterpart of the sky-god who kept the sun alight; nay more, that the two stood to each other in the well-known relations of mimetic magic, and that the king, as often as he put fuel on his fire, was virtually making sunshine for the community. If this be so, we can understand why the hearth was so intimately connected with the king on the one hand and with Zeus on the other. Aristotle³¹¹ speaks of "offices which derive their honour from the public hearth: some," he says, "call them *archons*, others kings, others again *prytanes*." So essential indeed was the link between the public hearth and the king, that at Priene a temporary king (*βασιλεύς*) was appointed solely for the purpose of performing the sacrifice at the Panionian festival.³¹² Zeus, too, was closely connected with the

³¹⁰ *Journ. of Philology*, xiv., 145 ff.

³¹¹ Aristot., *pol.* 7. 8. 1322 b, 28 f.

³¹² Strab., 384. Elsewhere he is called a *prytanis*: see *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 415.

public hearth. At Aegae³¹³ in Aeolis, for example, the oak-Zeus was worshipped side by side with Hestia, the personification of the hearth: in the *Odyssey*³¹⁴ an oath is several times taken by Zeus and the hearth of Odysseus: Pindar³¹⁵ addresses an ode to "Hestia, goddess of the *prytanea*, sister of Zeus most high and of Hera who shareth his throne." Some of the titles of Zeus are drawn from the same connection. He is the god "who holds the hearth" (ἐστιούχος),³¹⁶ or "who is seated at the hearth" (ἐφέστιος),³¹⁷ or "who shares the hearth with men" (ὀμέστιος βροτῶν).³¹⁸

Secondly, the king represented Zeus as the god of the stormy or rainy sky. As such he could himself cause a thunderstorm or a shower. In a recently recovered ode of Bacchylides³¹⁹ Minos proves that he is the son of Zeus by praying:

Zeus our Father, mighty in strength, hearken. If in truth
the white-armed woman of Phœnicia bare me to thee,
send forth now from the sky the swift
lightning with its fiery curl,
thy token that all men know.

Zeus in answer to "the immoderate prayer" at once hurled the lightning and thereby acknowledged his son. The scene, which is in fact a mythological commonplace, was probably based on the belief that the divine king could evoke a thunderstorm at will. In early days this would

³¹³ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 78. So at Pergamum (Preller-Robert, p. 867).

³¹⁴ *Od.*, 14. 158 f., 17. 155 f., 19. 303 f., 20. 230 f.

³¹⁵ Pind., *Nem.*, 11. 1 f.

³¹⁶ Eustath., 735, 61, 1756, 26, 1814, 10, cp. Hesych., ἐσιῶχος * οἰκουρός . οἰκῶναξ. καὶ Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωσιν. Eustath., 1575, 39, uses the form ἰστιούχος.

³¹⁷ Eustath., 1756, 27 Ζεὺς ἐφέστιος καὶ ἐπίστιος, 1814, 9 ἐφέστιος, 1930, 28 ἐν τῇ κατ' οἶκον ἐστία Διὶ ἐγίνοντο θυσίαι, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐφέστιον, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Ἰωνικῶς λέγει ἐπίστιον, τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ ἐστιούχῳ, Hdt., 1. 44 ἐπίστιον.

³¹⁸ *Soph. frag.*, 401 Dindorf, *ap.* Steph. Byz., s.v. Δωδώνη: Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὀμέστιος βροτῶν. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 183.

³¹⁹ Bacchyl., 17. 52 ff., cp. Hyg., *poet. astron.*, 2. 5.

have been done not by a prayer to Zeus but by mimetic means: nor would the operator have been content to be called the son of Zeus; he would have passed for Zeus himself. The legend of Salmoneus, already related,³²⁰ is from this point of view highly interesting. It introduces us to the paraphernalia of a primitive king, who claimed that he could thunder and lighten *in propria persona*. In his bronze caldrons and blazing torches subsequent ages saw only a grotesque imitation of the tempest. The study of comparative religion would teach us rather to recognise in the din and glare a genuine attempt to raise the storm by the ordinary methods of magic. Almost equally primitive are the means by which the representative of Zeus *Λυκαῖος* made rain for the Arcadians. Pausanias,³²¹ speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lycæus, says: "If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycæan Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak-branch³²² to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia." Here the rain-charm is used in conjunction with prayer; but otherwise the ritual might take rank with that of Salmoneus.³²³

Finally, as an embodiment of the earth-god the king was responsible for the fruits of the earth. Lycurgus, king of the Thracian Edoni, is described by Euripides³²⁴ as

³²⁰ *Supra*, p. 300.

³²¹ Paus., 8. 38. 4, Frazer.

³²² On Zeus *Λυκαῖος* as connected with the oak see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 87 ff.

³²³ Rain-making in general is discussed by Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 81-115, and rain-making among the Greeks in particular by Gruppe, pp. 818-834.

³²⁴ Eur. *Rhes*. 970 ff. *ἀνθρωποδαίμων* . . . *σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδῶσιν θεός*. As the son of one *Δρύας* (the "Oak"-man) and the father of another, he appears to have been an oak-king of the usual type: see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 82.

ἀνθρωποδαίμων, "a man-god," whose fate was to dwell as a prophet "concealed in the caverns" of Mount Pangæus. His tale is variously told, the most instructive version being perhaps that of Apollodorus,³²⁵ who says: "When the land remained barren, the god delivered an oracle that it would be fruitful, if Lycurgus were put to death. Hereupon the Edoni took him to Mount Pangæus and bound him. There he perished according to the will of Dionysus, destroyed by horses." Dr. Frazer,³²⁶ rightly interprets this as an example of a king punished by death because he had failed to supply his people with the crops in their season. Somewhat similar is the opening scene of Sophocles' masterpiece, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. A blight had fallen upon the land of Thebes, withering the buds, and making the live-stock barren. The common folk repair to the king's palace with the branches and wreaths of suppliants. They are headed by the priest of Zeus, who implores Oedipus to help them. Sophocles is indeed careful to make the priest say: "It is not as deeming thee equal to the gods that I and these children are seated at thy hearth."³²⁷ But that is a concession to later piety. More primitive is the wording of his appeal: "Find for us some succour, whether thou canst hear it from the voice of some god, or haply knowest it as a man."³²⁸ Plutarch's³²⁹ account of the Delphic ceremony called *Charila*, is worth quoting in this connexion: "A famine once fell upon the Delphians in consequence of a drought; so they crowded to the doors of their king as suppliants along with their wives and children. He, since he had not enough for all, distributed barley and vegetables to those of them who were known to him. But, when a young orphan girl came and besought him,

³²⁵ Apollod., 3. 5. 1.

³²⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 158 f.

³²⁷ Soph., *Oed. Tyr.*, 31 f.

³²⁸ *Ib.*, 42 f.

³²⁹ Plut. *quæst. Gr.*, 12.

he beat her with his sandal and flung it in her face. She, being poor and helpless but not ignoble in character, went away and hanged herself with her own girdle. Hereupon the famine increased and was followed up by diverse diseases, till the Pythian priestess bade the king propitiate Charila, a virgin who had put herself to death. Having with some difficulty discovered that this was the name of the girl whom he had beaten, he paid her an expiatory sacrifice, which is kept up at intervals of eight years to the present day. The king sits on his throne distributing gifts of barley and vegetables to all, strangers and citizens alike. A childish figure of Charila is brought in; and, when all have taken it in their hands, the king beats it with his sandal. The chief of the Thyiades next raises it and bears it to a rocky glen. Here they fasten a cord round the neck of the figure and bury it on the spot where Charila, who hanged herself, was buried." Without discussing the details of this curious rite, I would point out that it clearly involves the king's obligation to supply his people with food—an obligation probably based on the belief that the king was the embodiment of the god: Apollo at Delphi was Σιτάλακας, "He who protects the crops."³³⁰ It was but natural that a man-god possessed of such chthonian power should, when life was ended, be regarded as a king over the dead. A magnificent Tarentine vase, found at Canosa and preserved in the Munich collection, shows among other denizens of the underworld Triptolemus of Eleusis enthroned between Aeacus and Rhadamanthys: from his head rise ears of wheat, an obvious symbol of his function as grain-giver to men.³³¹ More often we hear of Minos as judge of the dead.³³² But of these four royal

³³⁰ Paus., 10. 15. 2. On the meaning of the epithet see Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i., 484, and Steph., *Thesaurus*, s.v. Σιτάλακας.

³³¹ A. Furtwängler u. K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 48, pl. 10.

³³² Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 2996 f.

personages three at least stood in some relation to the cult of an oak-Zeus.³³³ Perhaps, therefore, all Pelasgian kings had a claim to that posthumous distinction.

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(To be continued.)

³³³ For Triptolemus see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84; for Aeacus *ib.*, xvii., 405; for Minos *ib.*, xvii., 404, ff.



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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

II.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE primitive Greek king, as I showed in my last paper,¹ was the human representative of the sky-god Zeus, and in that capacity was not only called by his name but also believed to act as his vice-gerent. Thus he was expected to control the sun and to feed its flames, partly by kindling periodic bonfires on a mountain-top, partly by maintaining a perpetual fire on his own hearth. Again, he was rain-maker for the district, and could, when he so desired, evoke a sudden thunder-storm. Further, he was responsible for the crops, and to him all eyes turned as often as the fruits of the earth were injured by drought or blight.

It must not, of course, be supposed that these were the sole obligations of the king. The accepted classification of his functions is that propounded by Aristotle,² who saw

¹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 299 ff.

² Aristot. *pol.*, 3. 14. 1285 b. 22, στρατηγός τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστής ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος, *ib.*, 1285 b. 9, κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ

in him at once a general, a judge, and a priest. It is, however, probable that we ought to invert the Aristotelian order and to regard the early king as primarily a religious personage,³ secondarily charged with judicial and military duties. Indeed, it would appear that his office as judge, if not also his office as general, was a direct consequence of his office as the accredited representative of Zeus. He was judge, that is to say, because he spoke with the voice and authority of Zeus.⁴ In the *Iliad* Nestor addresses Agamemnon as follows: "Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon king of men, with thy name will I end, and in thine begin,⁵ for that thou art king of many peoples, and in the hollow of thy hand hath Zeus placed a sceptre and judgments to the end that thou mayest decide for them. Therefore more than others must thou speak thy thought and hearken, yea and fulfil even another man's advice, whensoever his mind biddeth him speak for good; for whatever any doth begin will hinge on thee."⁶ Note that

πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσίων, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικάι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον; cp. a fragment of Diotogenes *περὶ βασιλείας*, a Pythagorean treatise, cited by Stobæus in his *florilegium*, 48. 61, ἔργα δὲ βασιλέως τρία τό τε στρατηγὴν καὶ δικασπολὲν καὶ θεραπεύεν θεῶς . . . ὥστε ἀνάγκα τὸν τέλειον βασιλεῖα στραταγόν τε ἀγαθὸν ἦμεν καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ ἱερέα.

³ Aristotle was perhaps himself aware of this: cp. *pol.*, 7. 8. 1322 b. 26, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης (*sc.* τῆς ἐπιμελείας) ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν · καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις.

⁴ Hes., *O.D.*, 36, ἀ *propos* of the award of the local "kings," desires "straight decisions, which are the best that Zeus giveth," and Call., *hymn. Iov.*, 79 ff. Wilamowitz, writes: "*From Zeus come kings.* Nothing upon earth is more divine than kings. Therefore hast thou chosen them as thy portion. Thou hast given them cities to guard: yea thou satest thyself in citadels, watching them that governed their folk with crooked decisions and them that were upright."

⁵ Dr. W. Leaf *ad loc.* justly observes: "Nestor begins his speech in the usual style of an appeal to a god; because a king is the representative of Zeus. So "A te principium, tibi desinet," Verg. *Ecl.*, viii., 11."

⁶ *Il.*, 9. 96 ff.

Agamemnon as judge⁷ bears the sceptre of Zeus. This was an oaken staff or spear (δόρυ) of peculiar sanctity, as we gather from the account of it given by Pausanias:⁸ "The god whom the Chæroneans honour most is the sceptre which Homer says Hephæstus made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction it confers on its owners. . . . There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes." Now C. Bötticher⁹ has proved from this and analogous usages elsewhere that a tree-god was often represented by a sceptre, or lance, or staff. It may be regarded as certain, therefore, that the royal sceptre, which conferred the right of judgment, was simply a conventionalised form of the oak of Zeus:¹⁰ hence both in literature

⁷ Cp. Eustath., 25, 5, σημείον δὲ βασιλείας καὶ λόγων καὶ δίκης κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς τὸ σκῆπτρον ἦν. 'Αγαμέμνων τε γὰρ ὁ εὐρυκρείων ἴσταται σκῆπτρον ἔχων, καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ δημηγοροῦντι δίδωσιν τις σκῆπτρον ὥσαντῶς καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς δημηγορῶν σκῆπτρον ἔχει. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁμνυσιν ὡς συμβόλου τῆς δίκης, 1158, 1, καὶ σκῆπτρα δὲ οὐ μόνον βασιλεῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ δικασπόλοις. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ σκῆπτρον οὐ μόνον βασιλείας ἀλλὰ καὶ θεμίδος σύμβολον. In *Il.*, 9. 155 f. Agamemnon promises that the people shall honour Achilles "with offerings like a god, and beneath his sceptre shall fulfil his bright judgments." *Od.*, 11. 568 f., describes "Minos, the brilliant son of Zeus," as "holding a golden sceptre and passing judgment on the dead." In *Ap. Rhod.*, 4. 1176 ff., Alcinous "held in his hand the golden sceptre of justice, whereby many a man in the town had righteous judgment given him."

⁸ Paus., 9. 40. 11 ff., Frazer.

⁹ Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 232-240.

¹⁰ This explains the vision of Clytemnestra in *Soph. El.*, 417 ff., Jebb: "'Tis said that she beheld our sire (Agamemnon), restored to the sunlight, at her side once more; then he took the sceptre—once his own, but now borne by Aegisthus—and planted it at the hearth; and thence a fruitful bough sprang upward, wherewith the whole land of Mycenæ was overshadowed.'

and in art¹¹ it was sometimes surmounted by an eagle, the bird of Zeus. When the Homeric chiefs were assembled, he and he only might declare his opinion to whom the herald had handed the sceptre.¹² Very significant is the language used of it by Achilles: "But I will speak out to thee and therewith swear a mighty oath. Yea, by this sceptre, which shall never put forth leaves and branches, having once left its cloven stock upon the mountains, no, nor flourish again; for the bronze hath trimmed its leaves and bark round about, and now the sons of the Achæans bear it in their hands, even they that exercise justice, who guard the judgments given by Zeus. Hereby will I swear thee a mighty oath."¹³ Even in the Periclean age it was still the custom for the Athenian archon to assign the numerous judges to their respective courts by means of acorns (*βάλανοι*) and staves (*βακτηρίαι*), of which the former were marked with various letters, the latter with various colours.¹⁴ Have we not here a survival of the sacred oak which, as the oracular tree of Zeus, conferred juridical rights on the Pelasgian king?

It would seem that as general too the king stood in some special relation to Zeus. This comes out most clearly in the case of the Spartan kings, who were priests of Zeus *Λακεδαιμόνων* and Zeus *Οὐράνιος*.¹⁵ Before starting on a military expedition they sacrificed to Zeus *Ἀγήτωρ*, Zeus

¹¹ An eagle was perched on the sceptre not only of Zeus (Pind. *Pyth.*, i. 6, Paus., 5. 11. 1, 8. 31. 4; cp. the golden eagles on the pillars of Zeus *Λυκαῖος*, *ib.*, 8. 38. 7), but also of common kings (Aristoph. *av.*, 509 ff., with schol. *ad loc.*, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, ii., 903 f., fig. 980). For Roman parallels see Juv., 10. 43, and Mayor's *n.* Gold coins of Coso, king of Thrace, struck in 42 B.C., show an eagle holding a wreath with one claw and a sceptre with the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Thrace, &c., p. 208).

¹² *Il.*, 18. 505, 23. 567 f., *Od.*, 2. 37 f.

¹³ *Il.*, 1. 233 ff.

¹⁴ Aristot. *de rep. Ath.*, 63. 2 ff., G. Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*, p. 397 ff.

¹⁵ *Hdt.*, 6. 56.

"the Leader"; and perpetual fire from his altar was carried along with them by an official called the fire-bearer.¹⁶ On reaching the frontier they sacrificed again to Zeus and Athena; and from this sacrifice, too, perpetual fire was borne before them, while victims of all sorts followed after.¹⁷ Similarly the kings of Epirus used to sacrifice to Zeus "Ἀπειος, Zeus "the Warlike," at Passaron in the territory of Molottis,¹⁸ as Oenomaus king of Pisa had done in mythical times.¹⁹ During the fight the king might be armed with the spear that symbolised his god:²⁰ at least, Parthenopæus of Arcadia, who seems to have boasted that he was the son of Zeus, "swears by the spear that he holds, trusting it more than a god for sacredness and better than sight."²¹ If Zeus "the dispenser of war"²² favoured him and he proved successful against the foe, he²³ would erect a trophy, *i.e.*, an oak-tree²⁴ lopped of its branches and covered with votive armour. This oaken trunk was regarded as a rough statue of Zeus Τροπαῖος, Zeus "the god of Rout."²⁵ It appears, then, that various duties towards

¹⁶ Xen. *de rep. Lac.*, 13. 2; Nicol. Dam., *περὶ ἐθῶν ap. Stob. serm.* 44, p. 294 (p. 156 Orell., 278 Cor.) cited by Steph. *Thesaurus s.v.* ἀγήτωρ: ὅταν δὲ στρατεύονται ἔξω χώρας, πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀγήτορος Διὸς ἐναυσάμενος [ὁ] πυρφόρος λεγόμενος σύνεστι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἄσβεστον αὐτὸ τηρῶν.

¹⁷ Xen. *de rep. Lac.*, 13. 3, cp. Hdt., 6. 56.

¹⁸ Plut. *vit. Pyrrh.*, 5.

¹⁹ Paus., 5. 14. 6.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 371.

²¹ Aesch., *sept. c. Theb.*, 529 f., with Verrall's *n.*

²² *Il.*, 19. 224.

²³ So Eur. *Phæn.*, 571 ff., 1250 f., of Polynices; Paus., 9. 40. 8 of Caranus; &c.

²⁴ Cp. Verg. *Aen.*, 11. 5. ff., ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis, | constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma, | Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropæum, | Bellipotens, and *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 364 f.

²⁵ Eur. *Heracl.*, 936 f. "Υλλος μὲν οὖν ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἴόλεως βρέτας | Διὸς τροπαῖον καλλίνικον ἴστασαν, *Phæn.* 1250 f. Πολύνεικες, ἐν σοὶ Ζητὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας | τροπαῖον, 1472 f. ὥς δ' ἐνικῶμεν μάχῃ. | οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαῖον

Zeus devolved upon the king as military leader. Possibly he owed his position at the head of the army to this very fact. If so, we may subscribe to the opinion long since put forward by Fr. Creuzer,²⁶ viz.: that Zeus was the source of every honour enjoyed by the king. The ancients in any case did well to personify Kingship as the daughter of Zeus.²⁷

The duties of the king as representative of Zeus could be satisfactorily discharged only by a man who was perfect and without blemish, by a man—that is—in the prime of life suffering from no defect of body or mind. The kings of the heroic age were in fact conspicuous for their physical powers. Achilles, for example, is known to fame as “swift of foot,” Hector as “tamer of horses,” Diomedes and Menelaus as “good at the war-cry.” Moreover, it was well understood that the decay of bodily strength would involve a corresponding loss of authority. Hence the anxiety with which Achilles in the under-world asks about his father’s health: “Tell me of Peleus free from blemish²⁸ (ἀμύμονος), if aught thou hast heard, whether he still keepeth his

ἵστασαν βρέτας, *suppl.* 647 f., πῶς γὰρ τροπαία Ἰηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος | ἔστησεν οἱ τε συμμετασχόντες δορός; On the cult of Zeus Τροπαῖος at Sparta and in Salamis see Preller-Robert, p. 140, n. 3; and on that of Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος in Pamphylia, Farnell, *Cults*, i. 164.

²⁶ Creuzer, *Symbolik*³, iii., 108, “Als König ist er auch *Urquelle von allen Königsrechten*,” quoting Aesch. *Ag.*, 42 ff., &c.

²⁷ Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536, Εὐφρόνιος, ὅτι Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἡ Βασιλεία.

²⁸ This I take to be the meaning of ἀμύμων, “blameless,” an epithet used in the Homeric poems of kings who were by no means “blameless” from a moral point of view (see Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s. v. ἀμύμων). If the word was originally, as I suppose, a ceremonial term applicable to the priestly king, fresh significance is given to Odysseus’ speech in *Od.*, 19. 109 ff.: “Even as a king without blemish, who ruleth god-fearing over many mighty men and maintaineth justice, while the black earth beareth wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, and the flocks bring forth without fail, and the sea yieldeth her fish by reason of his good rule, and the folk prosper beneath him.” The king who is ἀμύμων has a flourishing kingdom: the king who is maimed (see the oracle cited on page 375) has a kingdom diseased like himself.

honour among the many Myrmidones, or whether they now dishonour him through Hellas and Phthia *because old age hath come upon his hands and feet.*"²⁹ In historical times the Spartans were warned by the Delphic Apollo to "beware of a lame reign."³⁰ The oracle ran as follows:³¹

Sparta, for all thy pomp and pride beware,
Lest sound of foot thou have a halting reign :
Then shall disease unlooked for hold thee long
And rolling waves of man-consuming war.

How Diopeithes pressed these lines against the claims of the lame Agesilaus, while Lysander insisted that they were an allegorical condemnation of the bastard Leotychides, is matter of common knowledge. It is also on record³² that Archidamus, the father of Agesilaus, was fined by the ephors for having married too short a wife: "'for,' said they, 'she will bear us not kings but kinglets.'" At Athens the last of the regular kings was Codrus; and Pausanias³³ *à propos* of his successor mentions an instructive incident. "Medon and Nileus, the eldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the sovereignty, and Nileus declared that he would not endure to be ruled by Medon, *because Medon was lame of one leg.* They agreed to refer the question to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Nileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony."³⁴ In course of time the duties of the Athenian king as priest, general, and judge passed into the hands of the priestly king (βασιλεύς), the war-leader (πολέμαρχος), and the

²⁹ *Od.*, II. 494 ff.

³⁰ Xen. *Hellen.*, 3. 3. 3.

³¹ Plut. *vit. Ages.* 3, *vit. Lys.* 22, Paus., 3. 8. 9. The first of these sources reads "diseases" (νοῦσοι) in the third line; the other two have "troubles" (μόχθοι).

³² Theophrastus *ap. Plut. vit. Ages.*, 2.

³³ Paus., 7. 2. 1, Frazer.

³⁴ See further *infra*, p. 396 ff.

governor (ἄρχων), who were assisted in their administration by a board of six inferior magistrates (θεσμοθέται). But it is noteworthy that all these officials, like the king before them, had to be men "without blemish" (ὁλόκληροι).³⁵ And that this was not merely a matter of decency or decorum, but rather a religious requirement, is made probable by the fact that the victims³⁶ offered to the gods and the priests³⁷ who served them had likewise to be "without blemish," and are described by the same term (ὁλόκληρος).

The community in early days had a simple method of securing the best man for the post of king. The king reigned till a stronger than he arose and slew him. This primitive rule may be traced in several of the Greek myths. Philostratus³⁸ describes how the Phlegyæ chose Phorbas as their king "because he was the biggest and most ferocious man in the tribe." He dwelt apart under an oak-tree, which was regarded as his palace (βασίλεια); and the Phlegyæ resorted to him for judgment. This oak grew on the road to Delphi, and Phorbas terrorised the Delphic pilgrims.³⁹ Old men and children he sent on to the

³⁵ Phot. *s. v.* ὁλόκληρος · οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐδοκιμάζοντο εἰ ὁλόκληροι εἰσὶν · Μένανδρος *Θεαταῖ* (Meineke, *frag. com. Gr.*, iv., 134), "ὁλόκληρος οὐτός σοι ξένε."

³⁶ Poll., I. 29, τὰ δὲ προσακτέα θύματα ἱερεῖα ἄρτια, ἄτομα, ὁλόκληρα, ὕγιη, ἄπηρα, παμμελῆ, ἀρτιμελῆ, μὴ κολοβὰ μηδὲ ἔμπηρα μηδὲ ἡκρωτηριασμένα μηδὲ διάστροφα. Σόλων δὲ τὰ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀφελῆ ὠνόμασε, Plut. *de def. or.*, 49, δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσυνὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον, cp. [Plat.] *Alcib.* ii., 149 A., Theocr. 4. 20 ff., *alii*.

³⁷ Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscr. Gr.*, 594, 9 f., ὠνεισθω δὲ ὅς [καὶ ὅλ]όκληρος (sc. the priesthood of Asclepius at Chalcedon), 598, 8 f., ἃ δὲ πριαμένα ἔστωι ὕγης καὶ ὁλ[ό]κλη[ρος] (sc. the office of priestess to Dionysus Θυλλοφόρος in Cos), cp. Plat. *legg.*, 759 C., δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν αἰὶ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὁλόκληρον καὶ γνήσιον, κ.τ.λ. See also W. Warde Fowler in Smith-Wayte-Marindin, *Dict. Ant.*, ii., 569 f.

³⁸ Philostrat. *imagg.*, 2. 19.

³⁹ Cp. Ov. *met.*, ii., 413 f.

Phlegyæ, who plundered them and held them to ransom. Wayfarers in the prime of life he challenged to an athletic contest, wrestling or running or the pancratium or quoit-throwing; and, having vanquished them, he cut off their heads and hung them on his oak, where they swung dripping in the wind—a ghastly sight. When he prided himself on the result of these Olympic sports (ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι ταύταις), Apollo took upon him the form of a youthful boxer and smote the ogre to the ground, while a thunderbolt from the sky blasted his oak. The place where it stood was called the Oak-Heads (Δρυνὸς κεφαλαί). From Herodotus⁴⁰ and Thucydides⁴¹ we gather that it was a pass of Mt. Cithæron on the way from Athens to Platæa, and that the Bœotians named it the Three Heads (Τρεῖς κεφαλαί). The same story was told by the cyclic poets, who laid stress on the pride of Phorbas: “By reason of his overweening conceit he was minded to pose as the peer of the gods themselves; wherefore Apollo drew near and, standing up to him, slew him.”⁴²

There can, I think, be little doubt that Phorbas was a king who personated an oak-god⁴³ and, in accordance with the primitive rule, defended his title against all comers. A somewhat similar figure is Cynus, son of Ares, who established himself in Thessaly and waylaid travellers on the road from Tempe to Thermopylæ. With their skulls he was building a temple to Apollo, when Heracles, whom he challenged to a single combat, shot him.⁴⁴ He was

⁴⁰ Hdt., 9. 39.

⁴¹ Thuc., 3. 24.

⁴² Schol. *Il.*, 23. 660.

⁴³ If this Phorbas is to be identified with Phorbas the rival of Apollo (*hymn. Hom.*, 3. 211), he was the son of Triopas (*ib.*, Paus., 7. 26. 12, Hyg. *poet astr.*, 2. 14) and therefore a representative of the three-eyed Pelasgian Zeus (*Folk-Lore*, xv., 288 f.).

⁴⁴ Schol. Pind. *Ol.*, 2. 147, 10. 19, Eur. *Herc. fur.*, 389 ff., Paus. 1. 27. 6, *alib.*

buried by his father-in-law Ceyx,⁴⁵ the human Zeus.⁴⁶ But Apollo caused the river Anaurus to swell with much rain and sweep away the tomb, because Cyncus used to rob men who brought hecatombs to Delphi.⁴⁷ Ares, angered at his death, attacked Heracles, and Zeus parted the combatants by hurling a thunderbolt between them.⁴⁸ Cercyon of Eleusis was another example of a king whose rule rested on personal prowess. He forced all strangers to wrestle with him and slew them, when they were thrown, till at last he was himself thrown by Theseus.⁴⁹ Antæus, a gigantic Libyan king, likewise forced all strangers to wrestle with him, and killed them when thrown. With their skulls he, like Cyncus, built a temple to his father Poseidon. In the end Heracles met him on his own ground and slew him.⁵⁰ His grave was shown at Tingis in Mauretania; and we are told that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again.⁵¹ Amycus king of the Bebryces compelled all strangers to box with him, and thus killed many of them before he was himself beaten and killed by Polydeuces:⁵² so pugnacious was he that whoever held a branch of the great laurel-tree called the Mad Laurel, which grew on his grave, broke out at once into abusive language.⁵³ Another test of physical endurance

⁴⁵ Hes. *sc.*, 354 ff., 472.

⁴⁶ *Folk-Lore* xv., 300.

⁴⁷ Hes. *sc.*, 477 ff.

⁴⁸ Apollod., 2. 5. 11, Hyg. *fab.*, 31.

⁴⁹ Paus., 1. 39. 3, Plut. *vit. Thes.*, 11, Diod., 4. 59, Suid. s. v. *Κερκυνών*. On Greek vases his name is sometimes *Κερκυανεύς* (P. Kretschmer, *die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, pp. 203, 238); this, compared with *Corp. inscr. Att.*, 3. 1203, *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυονέως*, suggests that Cercyon was a priestly king. Evidence of an oak-cult at Eleusis is given in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84.

⁵⁰ Pind. *Isthm.*, 3 (4). 70 ff., Plat. *Theat.* 169 B, Apollod. 2. 5. 11, Diod., 4. 7, 27, Hyg. *fab.*, 31.

⁵¹ Mela, 3. 106. This tradition points to the Libyan king as rain-maker.

⁵² Ap. Rhod. 2. 1 ff., Apollod. 1. 9. 20, *alib.*

⁵³ Apollodorus *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 2. 159, Plin. *nat. hist.*, 16. 239: see further C. Müller, *frag. hist. Gr.*, iv., 304, and Oberhummer in Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 753.

appears in the myth of Lityerses: this son of Midas, king of Phrygia, used to challenge people to a reaping-match with him and beat them if they were worsted; but one day he fell in with a stronger reaper and was himself put to death.⁵⁴

The foregoing tales do not actually state that the victor became king in the room of the vanquished. But it is noticeable that in these and other similar stories the victor may take the wife, or more often the daughter, of the vanquished to be his wife, and that sometimes at least he receives the kingdom along with her. Theseus, after he had slain Cercyon, gave the kingdom (which must therefore have been *his* by right of conquest) to Hippothous, whom Cercyon's daughter Alope had born to Poseidon,⁵⁵ but himself consorted with Alope.⁵⁶ So Heracles, when he had thrown Antæus, had intercourse with his wife Iphinoë⁵⁷ or Tinge,⁵⁸ whose son Sophax became king of the country. According to Pindar,⁵⁹ Antæus had a fair daughter—Alceïs or Barce, the scholiast⁶⁰ calls her—who was wooed by many of her kinsmen and by many strangers too. "But her father gained for his daughter a marriage more glorious still. Now he had heard how sometime Danaos⁶¹ at Argos devised for his forty and eight maiden daughters, ere mid-day was upon them, a wedding of utmost speed—for he straightway set the whole company at the race-course end, and bade determine by a foot-race which maiden each hero should have, of all the suitors that

⁵⁴ Poll., 4. 54. Other versions of the tale are discussed by O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2065 ff., Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 224 ff., 248 ff.

⁵⁵ Hyg. *fab.*, 187.

⁵⁶ Plut. *vit. Thes.*, 29, Ister and Pherecydes *ap.* Athen., 557 A f.

⁵⁷ Pherecydes *ap.* Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 663, and *Etym. magn.*, 679, 49 ff.

⁵⁸ Plut. *vit. Sertor.*, 9.

⁵⁹ Pind. *Pyth.*, 9. 181 ff., E. Myers.

⁶⁰ Schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, 9. 183.

⁶¹ The story is told by Paus., 3. 12. 2.

had come. Even on this wise gave the Libyan a bridegroom to his daughter, and joined the twain. At the line he set the damsel, having arrayed her splendidly, to be the goal and prize, and proclaimed in the midst that he should lead her thence to be his bride who, dashing to the front, should first touch the robes she wore. Thereon Alexidamos, when that he had sped through the swift course, took by her hand the noble maiden, and led her through the troops of Nomad horsemen. Many the leaves and wreaths they showered on him; yea and of former days many plumes of victories had he won." Similarly tradition said "that Icarius set the wooers of Penelope to run a race."⁶² Odysseus won it, and so gained his bride. The Bœotian Atalanta, daughter of Schœneus, was awarded by her father to the man who should outstrip her in a foot-race. The wooer was to run without weapons; Atalanta would follow with a spear, and if she caught him before the goal would slay him and fix his head on the racecourse. When she had vanquished and slain many suitors, she was at last outrun by Hippomenes, who dropped the famous golden apples in her path and so delayed her.⁶³

How tales of this type are related to tales that represent the king as himself challenging all comers, appears from the legend of Sithon.⁶⁴ This king of the Thracian Odomanti was the son of Poseidon (or Ares⁶⁵). When his daughter Pallene was wooed by many from far and wide, he bade each suitor fight him for the girl; on condition that if he were unsuccessful he should be put to death, but if successful he should receive not only his bride but the kingdom also. On these terms he defeated and put to death Merops, king of Anthemus, Periphetes, king of

⁶² Paus., 3. 12. 1

⁶³ Hyg. *fab.*, 185, cp. Apollod., 3. 9. 2. See further Escher in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1890 ff.

⁶⁴ Conon *narr.*, 10, Parthen. *narr. am.*, 6.

⁶⁵ Tzet. *in Lyc. Alex.*, 583, 1161.

Mygdonia, and many others. At length, when he was not so strong as he used to be, he changed his rule and ordained that in future the suitors should contend with each other, not with him,—the penalty and the prize to be as before. Hereupon two suitors presented themselves, Dryas⁶⁶ and Clitus. Pallene herself favoured Clitus; and an old servitor of hers induced the charioteer of Dryas to remove the linchpins of his master's chariot before the fray. Consequently, when Dryas drove against Clitus, his wheels came off: he fell, and was run over and killed by Clitus. Sithon, on realising his daughter's deceit, built a huge funeral pyre for Dryas, and was minded to slay Pallene upon it. But, according to one account,⁶⁷ Aphrodite appeared by night to all the townsfolk, and so rescued the maiden; according to another,⁶⁸ some portent and a sudden downfall of rain made Sithon change his mind. Anyhow, he prepared a wedding-feast for the Thracians who were present, and bestowed Pallene upon Clitus. At Sithon's death they succeeded to his kingdom. Nonnus⁶⁹ makes Dionysus demand Pallene of Sithon, who bids him wrestle with her. He is victorious and claims his prize; but, shocked at the skulls of the suitors with which the palace is adorned, slays the impious Sithon with a blow of his thyrsus. This version of the myth is probably later than the other: but in any case the whole tale furnishes a doublet to that of Oenomaus. The latter is thus told in the *Epitome of Apollodorus*.⁷⁰ Oenomaus, king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia, for whose hand he instituted a contest on the following terms. The suitor was to take Hippodamia on his chariot and flee to the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaus, clad in armour and

⁶⁶ The name is appropriate: it was natural for the "Oak"-man (Δρύας) to claim the kingdom. See *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 80 ff.

⁶⁷ Conon *narr.*, 10.

⁶⁸ Parthen. *narr. am.*, 6.

⁶⁹ Nonn. *Dion.*, 48. 90—237.

⁷⁰ *Apollod. epit.* 2. 4 ff., cp. *Diod.*, 4. 73, *Eustath.*, 183, 15 ff., *Hyg. fab.*, 84, *alib.*

mounted on the car of Ares, would (after sacrificing a ram to Zeus⁷¹) go in pursuit and, if he caught them, would slay him. In this way he slew a dozen or more suitors, and nailed their heads to his house.⁷² When Pelops came to try his luck, Hippodamia fell in love with him and persuaded Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, not to insert the linch-pins of his master's car. Oenomaus was thrown and, being entangled in the reins, was dragged along and killed or, according to others, was despatched by Pelops, who thereby won his bride and became king of Pisa. Now we may be very sure that romantic attachment, which in Alexandrine times—if not earlier—became the principal feature in these folk-tales, had originally nothing to do with them. If the young hero married the old king's daughter, it was merely in order to confirm his claim to the throne by obtaining a native sanction, so to speak, for the foreign successor.^{72a} The myths of Sithon and Oenomaus contain at least a hint of the real motive. The adventurer might gain the kingdom by a display of personal prowess. That was his object from first to last; and tales of the bride-race, no less than tales of the king's challenge to all strangers, presuppose the primitive rule that the king must be the strongest man of the district.

Another constant element in these stories is the death-penalty affixed to the would-be king who cannot beat his opponent in the fight or wrestling-match or race. This again takes us back to primitive times, when the king who

⁷¹ Diod., 4. 73. See further the vase-paintings figured and discussed in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 271 f.

⁷² Schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.*, i. 114, states that Oenomaus was constructing a temple to Ares with the skulls of the suitors. This is supported by Tzet. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 159; but may be a trait borrowed from the myth of Cycnus (*supra*, p. 377) or from that of Antæus (*ib.*).

^{72a} Dr. Frazer tells me that he has investigated at some length the question of the succession to the kingdom in classical antiquity and is about to publish his results in the forthcoming third edition of the *Golden Bough*.

was unequal to his duties used to be slain without mercy. Since old age is inevitable, it would appear that in remote times all priestly kings or human Zeuses must have been doomed to die a violent death. That this, however improbable it sounds to modern ears, was actually the case, is one of the main conclusions reached by Dr. Frazer in his *Golden Bough*.⁷³ He shows by a multitude of examples collected from widely separated lands that it has been the almost universal custom to kill the king as soon as he showed the first signs of advancing age, "in order that the divine spirit, incarnate in him, might be transferred in unabated vigour to his successor."⁷⁴ Of this barbaric custom traces can be detected even on Greek soil. *In primis* I would cite the valuable evidence of Macrobius. That writer is commenting on the passage in which Virgil describes the death of Halæsus : ⁷⁵

Halaesus' sire the future feared,
And 'mid the woods his darling reared :
When death had glazed the old man's eyes,
The ruthless Parcae claimed their prize,
Laid their cold finger on his heart,
And marked him for Evander's dart.
Now, poisoning long his lance in air,
To Tiber Pallas made his prayer :
'Grant, Tiber sire, the spear I throw
Through strong Halaesus' breast may go :
The spoils and armour of the foe
Shall deck thy sacred oak.'
'Tis heard ; and while Halaesus shields
Imaon's breast, his own he yields
Unguarded to the stroke.

Virgil, it will be seen, relates the combat between Pallas and Halæsus in language appropriate to the *monomachia* of an ancient oak-king. Macrobius, concerned to prove

⁷³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 8 ff.

⁷⁴ *Ib.*, ii., 59.

⁷⁵ Verg. *Aen.*, 10. 417 ff, Conington.

the archæological accuracy of the poet, comments⁷⁶ as follows: "How deeply significant Virgil can be with a single word in dealing with matters of ritual, can be seen from the lines—

'The ruthless Parcae claimed their prize (*sacrarunt*),' &c.

For whatever is destined for the gods is called sacred (*sacrum*): but the soul cannot reach them unless it be freed from the incumbrance of the body, and this liberation can be effected only through death. Hence he aptly uses the word *sacrare* of Halæsus, who was doomed to die. Indeed in this passage he strictly follows the terminology of laws both human and divine. His phrase 'laid their finger on him' (*iniecere manum*) amounts to a mention of legal emancipation (*mancipium*), while his use of the word *sacrare* satisfies the requirements of religion. And here I may refer to the condition of those men whom the laws would consecrate to particular deities; for some persons, I know, feel surprised at the rule, which forbids us to injure consecrated things, but bids us put to death a consecrated man. The reason of it is this. The ancients would not allow any consecrated animal to remain within their own boundaries, but drove them into the boundaries of those gods, to whom they were consecrated; whereas *the souls of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call Zanes, they regarded as owed to the gods.*⁷⁷ So the consecrated thing that could not actually be sent to the gods they did not hesitate to send away from themselves, while the con-

⁷⁶ Macrob. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 3—8.

⁷⁷ Macrob. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 6, animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Græci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant. The reading is certain (see Jan's *apparatus criticus*); and Jan was honest enough to retain it in his text, though he did not see what sense could be made of it. For various attempts to emend the passage see Jan *ad loc.* (cj. ἀναθήματα), Cælius Rhodiginus *antiq. lect.*, xii., 11 (ζόνας = ζόνα !), Liebrecht in *Philologus*, xxii., 710 (cj. ζωγάνας, cp. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 25 n.).

secrated souls, which they thought they could send to the sky, they would have go there without delay bereft of the body. The custom is discussed by Trebatius in the ninth book of his *Religiones*. I omit what he says, for fear of being tedious. If anyone desires to read it, let him be content with this indication of the author and the reference." Unhappily the works of Trebatius, great jurist though he was and warm friend of Cicero to boot, have perished.⁷⁸ We must be content with what Macrobius tells us, *viz.* : that the consecrated men whom the Greeks called *Zanes*, *i.e.*, Zeuses, were put to death as a sacrifice to the gods. If in the light of this statement we reconsider the examples of kings called Zeus that I have already cited,⁷⁹ it is interesting to observe how frequently they are said to have been slain or metamorphosed by Zeus. Salmoneus, king of Elis, who claimed to be Zeus, was killed by the thunderbolt of Zeus.⁸⁰ Ceyx, whose wife called him Zeus, was changed by Zeus into the sea-bird *ceyx*.⁸¹ Polytechnus, who compared himself to Zeus, was transformed by Zeus into a wood-pecker.⁸² A similar fate overtook Periphas, the early king of Attica. His story, as told by Antoninus Liberalis,⁸³ is worth quoting at length: "Periphas was an Attic autochthon before the days of Cecrops the son of Ge. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollo and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas.⁸⁴ They

⁷⁸ On him see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, i.², 395.

⁷⁹ *Folk-lore*, xv., 300 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, xv., 300, 312.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, xv., 300.

⁸² *Ant. Lib.*, 11.

⁸³ *Ib.*, 6.

⁸⁴ In the suburb Ardettus the Athenian jurors used to swear by Apollo Πατρώος, Demeter, and Zeus βασιλεύς (Poll., 8. 122). The βασιλεύς of

offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus Σωτήρ and Ἐπόψιος and Μειλίχιος. Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollo, whom Periphas used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphas and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphas into an eagle (αἰετός); his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphas company, into a vulture (φήνη). So upon Periphas he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre, and to draw near to his own throne; while Periphas' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings." In short, it appears that terrestrial Zeuses were either killed or, more often, metamorphosed into birds by the celestial Zeus. Is not this a trace of the primitive belief that the life of the divine king was forfeit to the god whom he represented?

The full meaning of these transformations into birds cannot here be investigated.⁸⁵ But I would suggest that

republican Athens, during his year of office, sat in the Royal Colonnade (Paus., 1. 3. 1), which was dedicated to Zeus Βασιλεύς (Hesych., s. v. βασιλειος στοά). Cp. also Cic. *de nat. deor.*, 3. 53, Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati, Tritopatrus, Eubuleus, Dionysus; and *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 371.

⁸⁵ It would have to be considered in relation to two sets of facts: (a) Certain tribes bearing bird-names claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor. Thus Dryops the "Wood-pecker" (δρύοψ) was the eponym of the Dryopes or Wood-pecker tribe: see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 83. Phlegyas the "Eagle" (φλεγύας) was the eponym of the Phlegyæ or Eagle tribe. Pelasgus, the eponym of the Pelasgians, may have been a "Stork": for the word πελασγός appears in the Eretrian dialect as πελαργός (G. Meyer *Griech. Gram.*,³ p. 307), an extremely archaic myth speaks of *Pelargus* with the variant *Pelasgus* (Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.*, 7. 256), a Delphic oracle called the Pelasgian fortification at the foot of the Athenian Acropolis τὸ Πελαργικόν (Thuc.. 2. 17, cp. Aristoph. *av.*, 832,

such stories, and in particular the myth of Periphas, furnish an important clue to a problem left unsolved by Dr. Frazer, *viz.* the question—How precisely was the soul of the slain king transmitted to his successor?⁸⁶ We have seen more than once that the man-god, instead of dying, was changed by Zeus into a bird (Ceyx the sea-fowl, Polytechnus the wood-pecker, Periphas the eagle); and other analogous cases could be quoted. For instance, the tomb of Zeus, *alias* Minos,⁸⁷ in Crete was, according to Suidas,⁸⁸ inscribed—

ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς.
 “Here lies dead the Wood-pecker, who is also Zeus.”

But indeed it would be tedious to collect all the examples of Zeus transforming kings and heroes into birds of one sort or another. A hexameter poem called *Ὀρυθογονία*, which dealt expressly with such transformations, was written in Alexandrine times and falsely ascribed to Boio an

Callim. *frag.*, 283, Schneider, Strab., 221, 397, Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.*, i. 28. Hesych. *s. v.* Πελαργικόν, *Et. magn.*, 659, 12 ff., *alib.*), and Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. use Πελαργικός for Πελασγικός (K. Meisterhans *Gram. d. Att. Inschr.*,³ p. 83n. 711, p. 227 n. 1799). (δ) The Greeks believed that the soul left the body in the form of a bird: for literary evidence see *e.g.* the myths of Cæneus (Ov. *met.*, 12. 514 ff.) and Ctesylla (Ant. Lib., 1); for monumental evidence, G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, and J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 197 ff.

⁸⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 56, “Of this transmission I have no direct proof; and so far a link in the chain of evidence is wanting. But if I cannot prove by actual examples this succession to the soul of the slain god, it can at least be made probable that such a succession was supposed to take place.” &c.

⁸⁷ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 304 n. 275 ff.

⁸⁸ Suid. *s. v.* Πῆκος. Cp. the historian Bruttius *frag.*, 1, Peter ὁ αὐτὸς Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς οὖσαν ταύτην (*sc.* Danae) ἐν κουβουκλείῳ παρακειμένῳ τῇ θαλάσσῃ πολλὰ χρυσῷ πείσας κ.τ.λ. Creuzer *Symbolik*,³ iv., 364, cites from Nicetas *epithet. deor.* (Creuzer *Meletem.*, i., 18) a description of Jupiter as ἥπιος πῆκος; and rightly brings him into connection with the Italian Picus, of whom I shall have more to say. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 412.

ancient Delphic priestess or, at a later date, to one Boios.⁸⁹ It was one of the sources from which Antoninus Liberalis compiled his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us in a single manuscript at Heidelberg.⁹⁰ The following samples of its contents must suffice. Aegypius the Thessalian was dear to the gods on account of his piety; to men, on account of his nobility and justice. He consorted with a certain widow Timandra, whose son Neophron, disliking it, treated Bulis, the mother of Aegypius, in the same way, and even contrived that Aegypius should lie with Bulis in mistake for Timandra. When the facts were discovered, Bulis caught up a sword and would have blinded her son with it and slain herself, while Aegypius looked towards heaven and prayed that he and all concerned might vanish. Hereupon Zeus changed them into birds. Aegypius became a vulture (αἰγυπιός); Neophron, a smaller vulture of different colour; Bulis, another bird (πῶλυξ); Timandra, a titmouse (αἰγίθαλλος).⁹¹ Again, when Anthus, the son of Autonus and Hippodamia, was devoured by his father's horses,⁹² Zeus and Apollo out of pity for his fate turned the whole family into birds—Autonus into a kind of heron (ὄκνος), Hippodamia into a lark (κορυδός), Anthus into a bird that imitates the neighing of a horse (ἄνθος), his brothers Erodias, Schœneus, and Acanthus into a heron (ἐρφιδίος), a wagtail (σχοινίλος), and a linnet or goldfinch (ἀκανθίς), his sister Acanthyllis into a hen-linnet.⁹³ Similarly certain Cretans, who attempted to

⁸⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 633 f.

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, i., 2572 f.

⁹¹ Ant. Lib., 5, after Boios *ornith.*, 1.

⁹² Cp. the fate of Lycurgus (*Folk-Lore*, xv., 313) and Hippolytus (Frazer *Golden Bough*,² i., 6, ii., 313 ff.); also the man-devouring horses of Diomedes son of Ares (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1022), and the tradition attaching to Mount Lyceus in Arcadia (Frazer *Pausanias*, iv., 382).

⁹³ Ant. Lib., 7, after Boios *ornith.*, 1, cp. Aristot. *de hist. an.*, 9. 1. 609 b. 14 f., Ael. *de nat. an.*, 5. 48, 6. 19, Plin. *nat. hist.*, 10. 116.

steal honey from the cave where Zeus was born, were named Laius, Celeus, Cerberus, and Aegolius, and were transformed by Zeus into a blue thrush (λάιος), a green wood-pecker (κελεός), an unknown species of bird (κέρβερος), and an owl (αἰγωλίος).⁹⁴ Two of these names occur elsewhere as those of kings. Laius was king of Thebes and perhaps passed for a human Zeus.⁹⁵ Celeus was the first king at Eleusis.⁹⁶ Another source used by Antoninus Liberalis was Nicander's *Ἑτεροιούμενα*, a didactic epic on changes into animal and plant forms.⁹⁷ From it he borrowed the following tale.⁹⁸ Munichus, son of Dryas, was king and seer of the Molossi. He had by his wife Lelante a son Alcander, who was a better seer than himself, besides two other sons, Megaletor and Philæus, and a daughter Hyperippe. When robbers attacked them by night and burnt their house, Zeus in pity changed them all into birds. Munichus became a buzzard (τριόρχης), Lelante a wood-pecker of the sort that chops at an oak for insects (πιπῶ), their sons Alcander, Megaletor, and Philæus, a wren (ὀρχίλος),⁹⁹ and two small birds (ἰχνεύμων and κύων), their daughter Hyperippe a large gull (αἶθυια).

Taking into account these numerous transformations of the king into a bird, and especially that of Periphas, who, when turned into an eagle, was allowed "to guard the sacred sceptre," I would conjecture that the soul of the

⁹⁴ Ant. Lib., 19, after Boios *ornith.*, 2.

⁹⁵ The rape of Chrysippus, son of Pelops, which was commonly attributed to Laius (Roscher *Lex.* i. 903, ii. 1800), was described by the Sicyonian poetess Praxilla as the work of Zeus (*ap.* Athen., 603 A). Similarly the rape of Ganymedes, usually ascribed to Zeus in the guise of an eagle, was sometimes laid to the charge of King Minos (Echemenes *ap.* Athen., 601 E).

⁹⁶ *Hymn. Hom.*, 2. 105 ff., *alib.* See further *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84.

⁹⁷ W. A. Greenhill in Smith *Dict. Biog. and Myth.*, ii., 1175.

⁹⁸ Ant. Lib., 14, after Nicander *heter.*, 2.

⁹⁹ Note that the wren was also called βασιλεύς and βασιλίσκος by the Greeks (D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 39), and the gold-crowned wren *τόρνανος* (*ib.*, p. 174).

slain king was supposed to escape in the form of a bird, and that its transmission to his successor was fitly symbolised by the eagle-tipped sceptre handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, according to Plato,¹⁰⁰ became an eagle. His sceptre, according to Aristophanes and the scholiast,¹⁰¹ had an eagle perched upon it; and, as Pausanias¹⁰² states, was handed down from one member of the divine dynasty to another. Other early kings, such as Merops¹⁰³ son of Triopas the Coan, and Periclymenus¹⁰⁴ son of Neleus the Pylian, were transformed into eagles. And the eagle appears repeatedly as a portent in connexion with several lines of historical kings. Coins of Alexander the Great and his successors represent Zeus seated on a throne with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left.¹⁰⁵ On the day when Alexander was born two eagles perched on the roof of his father's house, "an omen of his two-fold rule over Europe and Asia."¹⁰⁶ Ptolemy Soter was exposed as an infant on a bronze shield; and a Macedonian tradition declared that an eagle hovering over him had by the spread of its wings protected him against sun and rain, driving off birds of prey and feeding him on the blood of quails.¹⁰⁷ Coins of the Ptolemaic dynasty regularly symbolise the reigning sovereign as an eagle, or the sovereign and his consort as a pair of eagles.¹⁰⁸ Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, kept a tame eagle which on the death of its

¹⁰⁰ Plat. *rep.*, 620 B.

¹⁰¹ Aristoph. *av.*, 510, with schol. *ad loc.*

¹⁰² Paus., 9. 40. 11.

¹⁰³ Eustath., 1351, 29, schol. *Il.* 24. 293, Hyg. *poet. astr.*, 2. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Ov. *met.*, 12. 556 ff., Hyg. *fab.*, 10. So Pandareos of Ephesus was changed by Zeus into a sea-eagle (*Ant. Lib.*, 11, after Boios *ornith.*), as was also Nisus king of Megara (Ov. *met.*, 8. 146, Hyg. *fab.*, 198, *Ciris* 536).

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. B. V. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 56 ff., pl. 27, 2, 4-8, 10, pl. 28, 12, 20, pl. 30, 5-7, 9-11, pl. 31, 12-14, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Just. 12. 16. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Suid. s. v. *Αἰγός*.

¹⁰⁸ See Svoronos' *Corpus of Ptolemaic Coins*, iii., pl. 2 ff.

master refused food and died.¹⁰⁹ Achæmenes, the founder of the famous Persian dynasty, was said to have been reared by an eagle.¹¹⁰ The royal standard of Cyrus and the kings that followed him on the throne of Persia was a golden eagle on the top of a long staff.¹¹¹ Attached to the chariot of the Persian king was a golden eagle with extended wings, which was regarded as an object of peculiar sanctity.¹¹² In fact the attendants of the Persian prince used actually to mould his nose into an aquiline shape in order that he might himself resemble an eagle.¹¹³ Herodotus¹¹⁴ mentions eagle-tipped sceptres as used by the Babylonians, and Philostratus¹¹⁵ pictures the royal device of the Medes at Babylon as a golden eagle on a shield. Gordius, the founder of the Phrygian dynasty, when an eagle alighted on his plough, was bidden by a prophetess to sacrifice it to Zeus Βασιλεὺς.¹¹⁶ In Egypt,¹¹⁷ too, and in other oriental countries,¹¹⁸ the eagle seems to have been recognised as a royal bird. Roman parallels will be adduced later; but I may here note the statement of Artemidorus,¹¹⁹ that it was an ancient custom to represent kings and great men when dead as riding upon eagles: indeed the part played by the eagle in the apotheosis of the emperor was to some extent

¹⁰⁹ Ael. *de nat. an.*, 2. 40.

¹¹⁰ *Ib.*, 12. 21.

¹¹¹ Xen. *Cyr.*, 7. 1. 4.

¹¹² Curt., 3. 3. 16.

¹¹³ Olympiod. *in Plat. Alcib.*, i., 16, p. 153, cited by D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Gloss. Gk. Birds*, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Hdt., 1. 195.

¹¹⁵ Philostr. *Maj. imagg.*, 2. 31. 1, cp. Ezek., 17. 3, 12. The Rev. C. H. W. Johns informs me that a double-headed eagle occurs as an early Babylonian standard: L. Heuzey, *Les origines orientales* (article "Les armoiries chaldéennes"), *Monuments et mémoires fondation Eugène Piot*, ii., 204, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv., 36, De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 56.

¹¹⁶ Arr. *anab.*, 2. 3, Ael. *de nat. an.*, 13. 1.

¹¹⁷ Diod., 1. 87, Strab., 808, Horap., 2. 56, Ezek., 17. 7, 15; cp. the name 'Αετός for the Nile (Diod., 1. 19), 'Αερία for Egypt (Eustath. *in Dionys.*, *per.* 239).

¹¹⁸ See Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, ed. 1794, ii., 769.

¹¹⁹ Artemid. *oneirocr.*, 2. 20.

anticipated in the eagles with outstretched wings attached by Alexander to the pyre of Hephæstion.¹²⁰ Also, if the younger Seneca¹²¹ is to be believed, which is doubtful, the Greek chieftains who attacked Thebes had, like the Romans, eagles for standards. All these facts, unless I am mistaken, hang together with the belief that the soul of the monarch appeared as an eagle, and in this form watched over the fortunes of his empire. The regalia handed down from king to king represented the sacred foliage as a wreath or crown, the sacred tree as a sceptre,¹²² and the sacred bird as an eagle perched upon it.

But, to return from our digression, we have seen that in Greece as elsewhere the divine king was probably doomed to die as soon as his physical strength gave way.

With increasing civilisation this barbaric rule was to some extent relaxed. Dr. Frazer, who first formulated it, has discussed various modifications of it, such as the sacrifice of the king's son or of a criminal in place of the king himself.¹²³ Greek examples of these mitigations are not wanting. It will be remembered, for instance, that the Edoni put their king, the "man-god" (*ἀνθρωποδαίμων*) Lycurgus, to death because their land remained barren.¹²⁴ Dr. Frazer¹²⁵ points out that a modification of this rule is well attested in the case of King Athamas, the brother of Salmoneus. His story was told by Sophocles as follows.¹²⁶ Athamas had two children, Phrixus and Helle, by the cloud-goddess Nephele. Afterwards he married a mortal woman, and Nephele out of jealousy sent a drought upon his land. Envoys despatched to the Pythian Apollo were bribed by

¹²⁰ Diod., 17. 115. See Creuzer *Symbolik*,³ iii., 757.

¹²¹ Sen. *Phæn.*, 28.

¹²² See *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 418, *supra*, p. 371 f.

¹²³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 55 f.

¹²⁴ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 313.

¹²⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 34 ff.

¹²⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.*, 257, Apostol., 11. 58.

Nephele to report that the drought could only be stayed if Athamas sacrificed Phrixus and Helle. This he was about to do,¹²⁷ when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger and they fled along with the ram. Helle fell off its back into the sea and gave her name to the Hellespont; but Phrixus got safely to Colchis and sacrificed the ram to Ares or Hermes. Meantime Athamas himself was garlanded like a victim and led out to be sacrificed. In the nick of time he was rescued by Heracles. Herodotus¹²⁸ further informs us that at Alus in Thessaly Athamas was said to have been saved by the arrival of Cytisorus, the son of Phrixus, from Colchis—an intervention which drew down the wrath of Zeus Λαφύστιος upon his descendants. The eldest son of the family had to refrain from entering the *prytaneum*. "Should he enter it, he must not leave it till he is about to be sacrificed."¹²⁹ Many of those who were thus condemned to die had fled the country in terror. It is tolerably certain that here we have an example of the king's death being commuted into the death of the king's son. In other places a stranger or a prisoner was substituted. When the land of Egypt remained barren for nine years, Phrasius, a Cyprian seer, told King Busiris that the famine could be stayed, if he would sacrifice a stranger to Zeus every year. Busiris promptly began by sacrificing Phrasius himself and afterwards other strangers who visited the country. Heracles, when he came thither, was garlanded and led out to the altar of Zeus: but, turning on his captors, he slew them all, including Busiris and his son Iphidamas or Amphidamas.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Pherecydes *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, 4. 288, stated that Phrixus offered himself as a voluntary victim when the crops were perishing.

¹²⁸ Hdt., 7. 197.

¹²⁹ Cp. Plat. *Minos*, 315 c., schol. Ap. Rhod., 2. 653.

¹³⁰ Apollod., 2. 5. 11., Hdt., 2. 45, Pherecyd. *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod., 4. 1396. The scene is graphically depicted on a *hydria* from Caere, now at Vienna (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 51).

A yet milder method of ensuring the bodily competence of the priestly king was to limit the period of his reign. At Priene a young man was appointed as king (*βασιλεύς*) to offer the sacrifices at the Panionian festival: he presumably held office during the festival only, or at most for the year.¹³¹ At Chæronea the man who kept the sceptre of Zeus, and was therefore priestly king, had it in his house "for the year."¹³² At Athens the king (*βασιλεύς*), who in early days was called Zeus,¹³³ gave judgment in the Royal Colonnade for a year.¹³⁴ At Megara and in various other towns of Greece¹³⁵ the eponymous magistrate bearing the title *βασιλεύς* was probably a priestly king, whose reign lasted but a twelvemonth. Elsewhere the tenure of the office was longer, but still of limited duration. The Greeks, in their attempt to reconcile the lunar with the solar year, advanced progressively from a "great year" of twenty-four months (*τριετηρίς*), through one of forty-eight (*πεντετηρίς*), to one of ninety-six (*ἐννεετηρίς*). This last-mentioned period, as Censorinus¹³⁶ remarks, figured largely in Greek

¹³¹ Strab. 384. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 415.

¹³² Paus., 9. 40. 12.

¹³³ *Supra*, p. 385, with *n.* 84.

¹³⁴ Paus., 1. 3. 1.

¹³⁵ *E.g.*, Aegosthena (Michel *Rec. d'inscrr. grecq.*, 172, 2), Chios (*ib.*, 1383, 9), Calchedon (Dittenberger *Syll. inscrr. Gr.*,² 596, 14), Chersonesus (*ib.*, 326, 56), Megara (*ib.*, 174, 1), Miletus (*ib.*, 627, 5), Samothrace (*ib.*, 658, 1; 659, 1). See further the list in G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, ii., 324, *n.* 1.

¹³⁶ Censorin. *de die natali*, 18, cp. Plut. *de plac. philos.*, 2. 32. Apollod., 3. 4. 2, states that "Cadmus served Ares for a whole year; and a year in those days consisted of eight years" (*ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτώ ἔτη*). Similarly Apollo served Admetus "for a year" (*ib.*, 3. 10. 4, *ἐνιαυτόν*, and so schol. Eur. *Alc.*, 1) or, according to another account, "for nine years" (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.*, 7. 761, *novem annis* probably by a confusion with the *ἐννεατηρίς*); while Heracles served Eurystheus for eight years and one month (Apollod. 2. 5. 11, *ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔρεσιν ὀκτώ*, an odd period explained by C. O. Müller *Hist. and Ant. of the Doric Race*, i., 445, as "the Ennaëteris . . . which was . . . eight years and three intercalary months").

religious observances. Among other things it fixed the length of the king's tether. "As . . . the dignity of the kings," says C. O. Müller,¹³⁷ "was founded on a religious notion, so it was also limited by religion, although the account we have is rather of an ancient custom, that was retained when its meaning had been lost, than an institution of real influence. Once in every eight years (*δι' ἑτῶν ἑννέα*) the ephors chose a calm and moonless night, and placed themselves in the most profound silence to observe the heavens: if there was any appearance of a shooting star, it was believed that the kings had in some manner offended the Deity, and they were suspended until an oracle from Delphi, or the priests at Olympia, absolved them from the guilt.¹³⁸ If this custom . . . is compared with the frequent occurrence of this period of nine years in early times,¹³⁹ and especially with the tradition preserved in a verse of Homer,¹⁴⁰ 'of Minos, who reigned for periods of nine years, holding intercourse with Jupiter,' it is easy to perceive that the dominion of the ancient Doric princes determined, as it were, at the period of every eight years, and required a fresh religious ratification. So intimate in early times was the connexion between government and religion." The case of Minos merits more than a passing mention. Tradition said that at the expiration of each period of eight years he repaired to the cave on Mount Ida for a personal interview with Zeus, who then communicated

¹³⁷ C. O. Müller *op. cit.*, ii., 104.

¹³⁸ Plut. *vit. Agis*, 11.

¹³⁹ [*E.g.* the famine of Busiris lasted for nine years (*supra*, p. 393). Anius, the priestly king of Delos, bade the Achæans on their way to Troy stay with him for nine years (Lyc. *Alex.*, 571, *ἐννέωρον* . . . χρόνον, *alib.*). The werewolves of Arcadia returned to human shape after nine years (Plin. *nat. hist.*, 8. 81 f.).

¹⁴⁰ [*Od.*, 19. 178 f. *τῇσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως | ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ὑαριστής.*]

to him the laws that he was to give the Cretans.¹⁴¹ In other words, Minos renewed his divine commission as king and law-giver at intervals of eight years. This custom he is said to have borrowed from a more ancient ruler, Rhadamanthys by name,¹⁴² so that doubtless it was an extremely archaic Cretan institution. It was also every ninth year that the Minotaur received his tribute of human victims,¹⁴³ a usage which probably implies that the solar powers of the king needed renewal at the same recurring period.¹⁴⁴ These examples lead us to conjecture that the restriction of the Athenian kings (*βασιλεῖς*) or rulers (*ἄρχοντες*) from a life tenure, first to ten years, and then to one year,¹⁴⁵ was due not merely to political but also to religious motives. A suggestive tale is told about one of the old life-kings named Thymœtes.¹⁴⁶ In a war between the Athenians and Bœotians he was challenged to a single combat by Xanthus, king of Bœotia, but declined the challenge through old age or cowardice and offered his kingdom as a reward to any man who would venture to fight the Bœotian champion. Melanthus the Neleid, a recent immigrant from Messenia, undertook the task and, thanks to divine assistance, succeeded. The throne thus passed from the Theseids to the Neleids, who had proved themselves physically competent to reign. But the new dynasty did not remain *sans peur et sans reproche* for long. Melanthus was followed by a son worthy of him, the heroic Codrus: Codrus' son Medon was lame of one leg and therefore had much ado to

¹⁴¹ Plat. *Min.*, 319 c., *legg.*, 624 B., Strab. 476, 762, Eustath., 1861, 25 ff., Val. Max., I. 2 ext. 1.

¹⁴² Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 476, Eustath., 1861, 25 ff.

¹⁴³ Plut. *vit. Thes.*, 15, Diod. 4. 61, Ov. *met.*, 8. 171; cp. Höck *Kreta*, ii., 93 f.

¹⁴⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 410 f.

¹⁴⁵ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 135.

¹⁴⁶ Con. 39, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.*, 146, *pax*, 890, cp. Hdt., 5. 65, Paus., 2. 18. 9, Strab., 393, Ephor. *frag.* 25 Müller, *alib.*

retain the sovereignty¹⁴⁷; indeed, according to the usual tradition, he and his successors were known as archons for life rather than kings.¹⁴⁸ The Medontidæ in turn were followed by a series of archons who bore office for ten years only. But even this limited rule was no safeguard against moral degeneration and consequent physical incompetence. A fragment of Heraclides Ponticus *de rebus publicis*¹⁴⁹ states that the Athenians "ceased to choose their kings from the descendants of Codrus because they appeared to have become enervated through luxurious living," and adds that Hippomenes the Codrid, whom we know to have been one of the ten-year archons,¹⁵⁰ was anxious to vindicate his character against this charge. Aristotle¹⁵¹ likewise asserts that the office of polemarch was instituted "owing to the fact that some of the kings have proved cowardly in warfare." Finally the kingship became an annual magistracy, tenable only by those who were bodily perfect, while the polemarch continued to discharge the military duties once undertaken by the king.¹⁵² It is not improbable, therefore, that the gradual restriction in the tenure of the Athenian kings was intimately bound up with the question of their physical competence.

However that may be, we have seen that among the Greeks in general two methods of ensuring a satisfactory succession were in vogue. On the one hand, the king as strongest man in the district was expected to challenge all comers to an athletic contest: if vanquished, he yielded his place to the victor, who reigned in his stead. On the other hand, the king might be forced to abdicate at the end of a fixed period, after enjoying his office say for one year, or

¹⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 375.

¹⁴⁸ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 132 ff.

¹⁴⁹ Heracl. Pont. *de reb. publ.*, i. 3 Müller.

¹⁵⁰ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 130, 135.

¹⁵¹ Aristot. *de rep. Ath.* 3. 2.

¹⁵² *Supra*, p. 375 f.

for eight. It now occurs to us that a combination of these two methods may well have produced one of the most remarkable and characteristic institutions of ancient Greece, *viz.*, the great public games. I venture to suggest¹⁵³ that these were at first merely a means of selecting the man best fitted to become the priestly king of the locality in which they were held; and that the enormous importance attached to them is to be explained as due, not to any exaggerated or excessive devotion to athletics, but rather to the religious issues involved in the choice of one who should worthily represent God to men.

The greatest of all Greek games were those celebrated at Olympia; and it so happens that at Olympia the evidence in favour of my hypothesis is particularly clear. The earliest king of Elis, according to Pausanias,¹⁵⁴ was called Aëthlius, "the Prize-winner," a name which presumably implies that he had won the kingdom as the prize in a public contest. He was the father of Endymion, of whom we read¹⁵⁵ "Endymion . . . offered his sons the kingdom as a prize to be won in the race at Olympia," and again¹⁵⁶ "Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom: Epeus won the race and obtained the kingdom." About a generation after Endymion Pelops, who had already won Pisa from Oenomaus by victory in the famous chariot-race,¹⁵⁷ "acquired not only the land of Pisa, but also the border district of Olympia, which he severed from the territory of Epeus,"¹⁵⁸ and "celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him."¹⁵⁹ Later, the claims of Dius and Oxylus were

¹⁵³ Cp. *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275 n. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Paus., 5. 1. 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Ib.*, 5. 8. 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Ib.*, 5. 1. 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 381 f.

¹⁵⁸ Paus., 5. 1. 7.

¹⁵⁹ *Ib.*, 5. 8. 2.

settled by a single combat, the former being represented by an archer, the latter by a slinger.¹⁶⁰ "After the reign of Oxylyus, who also held the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games . . . people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them."¹⁶¹ "Iphitus presided alone over the games, and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylyus did likewise."¹⁶² Tradition, therefore, manifestly points to the conclusion that the Olympic games originated in a contest for the post of local king.

Further, there are reasons for believing that the Olympic victor or local king at one time posed as a human Zeus. It was in Elis that Salomoneus pretended to be Zeus¹⁶³: Virgil¹⁶⁴ describes him as a victor (*ovans*) who claimed divine honours; and a fifth-century vase now at Chicago¹⁶⁵ shows him decked with olive sprays and fillets as an Olympic victor, while he brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sword in his left, apparently as an embodiment of Thunderbolt Zeus and Warlike Zeus, two forms of Zeus connected with Oenomaus at Olympia.¹⁶⁶ Even in historical times, when "people had forgotten the ancient customs" and the victor no longer carried a thunderbolt, there are indications that he was in effect both king and Zeus. To begin with, he was crowned; and his crown resembled that of Zeus himself,¹⁶⁷ being a wreath cut from

¹⁶⁰ *Ib.*, 5. 4. 1 f.

¹⁶¹ *Ib.*, 5. 8. 5.

¹⁶² *Ib.*, 5. 9. 4.

¹⁶³ Apollod., 1. 9. 7., cp. *Folk-Lore*, xv., 300, 312.

¹⁶⁴ Verg. *Aen.*, 6. 589.

¹⁶⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275 ff., fig. 5.

¹⁶⁶ Paus., 5. 14. 6 f. It is expressly stated (*ib.*, 6) that Oenomaus used to sacrifice on the altar of Warlike Zeus at Olympia, "whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia," *i.e.*, whenever he offered his kingdom and his daughter to the man who should beat him in personal prowess (*supra*, p. 381 f.).

¹⁶⁷ Paus., 5. 11. 1.

the sacred olive, which grew behind the temple of Zeus¹⁶⁸ : it had to be severed with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents were alive.¹⁶⁹ Again, he was pelted with leaves,¹⁷⁰ perhaps as a representative of the tree-god. He was also adorned with prophylactic fillets and wore a peculiar helmet of honour surmounted by a high spike, &c.¹⁷¹ Not only was he feasted "within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth,"¹⁷² as though he were the king in his palace ; but on his return home he was clad in a mantle which is compared to the royal purple,¹⁷³ and drawn by white horses¹⁷⁴ into the city through a breach in its wall.¹⁷⁵ Horace¹⁷⁶ in a well-known passage says :

There are who joy them in the Olympic strife
And love the dust they gather in the course ;
The goal by hot wheels shunn'd, the famous prize,
Exalt them to the gods that rule mankind.

Lucian¹⁷⁷ speaks in similar terms of the victor as "deemed equal to the gods" (*ισόθεον νομιζόμενον*). And that this was no empty figure of speech is proved by the numerous examples of Olympic victors, who were not merely heroified, but actually deified and worshipped as gods by their

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 5. 15. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.*, 3. 60.

¹⁷⁰ *Ib. Ol.*, 8. 101, *Et. mag.*, 532, 46, *alib.*

¹⁷¹ See the vase-paintings reproduced in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 274 f., figs. 3 and 4.

¹⁷² Paus., 5. 15. 12.

¹⁷³ Schol. Aristoph. *nuβ.*, 70.

¹⁷⁴ Diod., 13. 82. Dr. Frazer has suggested to me that the victor, not merely as drawn by white horses, but also as racing in his four-horse car, may have represented the sun-god (Roscher, *Lex.*, i. 2005 ff.) ; and there is much to be said in favour of the suggestion—cp. *e.g.* Virgil's description of Salmoneus : quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans | per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem | ibat ovans divumque sibi poscebat honorem (*Aen.* 6. 587 ff.).

¹⁷⁵ Plut. *symp.*, 2. 5, Dio 63. 20, Suet. *Nero*, 25.

¹⁷⁶ Hor. *od.* 1. 1. 3 ff., Conington.

¹⁷⁷ Luc. *Anach.*, 10.

fellow-countrymen.¹⁷⁸ Another trace of the same conception may be found in the rule that athletes who cheated in the games at Olympia were fined, and that from the fines thus levied bronze statues of Zeus called *Zanes* were made and set up in the sacred precinct.¹⁷⁹ When we recall Macrobius' statement¹⁸⁰ that "the souls of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call *Zanes*, they regarded as owed to the gods," it is tempting to suppose that we have here the final commutation of what was originally a death-penalty imposed on the would-be king who could not beat his opponent in fair fight.¹⁸¹ Lastly, the belief that the Olympic victor was an incarnation of Zeus will serve to explain two myths, which I append without further comment. Pausanias,¹⁸² when discussing the origin of the games at Olympia, makes the singular statement: "Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus." Tzetzes¹⁸³ preserves a yet more singular legend bearing on the same subject: "Heracles vanquished in battle Augeas king of Elis, the son of Helios and Iphiboe, because he had not received the reward due to him for the cleansing of the byre; and, having sacked Elis, he formed of the spoils thereof a contest in honour of Olympian Zeus and called it the Olympian contest. It was held every four years or, to speak with more precision, every fifty months. The athletes contended in the *pentathlon* (boxing,

¹⁷⁸ Philippus of Crotona heroified (Hdt. 5. 47); Cleomedes of Astypalæa heroified (Paus., 6. 9. 8); Polydamas of Scotussa invoked as healer (Luc. *deor. concil.*, 12); Euthymus of Locri in Italy deified during his life-time (Plin. *nat. hist.*, 7. 152, Paus., 6. 6. 10); Theagenes of Thasos worshipped as a god in Thasos and elsewhere (Paus., 6. 11. 8 f., Luc. *deor. concil.*, 12). See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275.

¹⁷⁹ Paus., 5. 21. 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Supra*, p. 384.

¹⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 382 f.

¹⁸² Paus., 5. 7. 10.

¹⁸³ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 41.

running, long jump, quoit-throwing, and wrestling) as well as in other sports. In the first contest ever held Heracles challenged any who would to wrestle with him. When no man dared to do so, Zeus likened himself to a wrestler and faced Heracles. The bout lasted long and was indecisive, till Zeus made himself known to his son."

Almost equal in importance to the Olympic festival was that celebrated in the territory of Delphi, the ancient Pytho. Here too there are reasons for thinking that the public contest was originally a method of determining who should be priestly king. These reasons are chiefly connected with certain rites performed at Delphi once in every eight years. Plutarch¹⁸⁴ states that at intervals of eight years the Delphians held a series of three solemnities (*ἐννεετηρίδας*) called the *Stepterion*,¹⁸⁵ the *Heroïs*, and the *Charila*. The *Stepterion* was a mimetic representation of the fight between Python and Apollo, and of the god's subsequent flight or pursuit to Tempe: some said that he had fled to obtain purification; others that he had pursued the wounded Python along the sacred road and had come up with it just dead and buried by its son Aix. The *Heroïs* was a sort of drama representing apparently the ascent of Semele from the under-world: a mystic tale, known to the Thyiades, was told concerning it. The *Charila*¹⁸⁶ too was a ritual performance. The king (*βασιλεύς*) sat on a throne distributing food to all and sundry. The figure of a virgin called Charila was brought in, held by all in turn, and beaten by the king with his

¹⁸⁴ Plut. *quæst. Gr.*, 12.

¹⁸⁵ The vulgate has *Σεπτήριον*; but Bernardakis, the most recent editor, reads *Στεπτήριον*, which according to D. Wytténbach *animadv. in Plut. op. mor.*, iii., 46, is found in Ald. E. Voss. P. H. van Herwerden, *Appendix Lexici Græci*, p. 203, is confident that *Στεπτήριον* is the true reading: "Iniuria *σεπτήριον* olim habitum est pro genuina lectione." On the meaning of the variants see A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 210 n. 1, and *infra*, p. 404 f.

¹⁸⁶ See *Folk-Lore*, xv., 313 f.

sandal; it was then taken off by the principal Thyiad to a rocky glen and buried with a cord round its neck. The tale told to account for this rite spoke of a certain drought during which the king had failed to provide food for his subjects and had beaten a young girl who begged for it: she had gone away and hanged herself, and famine and disease had followed until the king at the bidding of the Pythian priestess undertook this expiatory sacrifice (*μεμυγμένην τινὰ καθαρμῷ θυσίαν*). In order to grasp the meaning of these peculiar ceremonies we must compare a few other passages in which reference is made to them. Plutarch¹⁸⁷ elsewhere gives us further information about the *Stepterion*, though he does not describe it by that name. Apollo, he says, once fought with a snake for the possession of the Delphic oracle; and he proceeds to indicate various details in the ritual representation of the fight. "The hut (*καλιὰς*) which is erected here near the threshing-floor at intervals of eight years is not a cavernous serpent's hole, but an imitation of a royal or kingly dwelling." At this point Plutarch's text has suffered corruption; ¹⁸⁸ but it is clear that certain persons, taking with them a boy whose parents were both alive, made a silent and stealthy attack upon the hut, and, having fired it with torches and upset the table-altar, fled through the doors of the precinct without looking behind them. In substantial agreement with this is the account of Ephorus,¹⁸⁹ who stated that Apollo shot with his bow a fierce man named Python and surnamed Serpent, the Delphians burning his hut (*σκηνή*); in memory of which achievement the ritual was still kept up. Pausanias¹⁹⁰ too records the statement that Python was not a mere snake, but "an overbearing son of Crius, a chieftain of Eubœa, who rifled the

¹⁸⁷ Plut. *de def. orac.*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ Conjectures are collected by A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 208 n. 2 f.

¹⁸⁹ Ephor. *ap.* Strab., 422.

¹⁹⁰ Paus., 10. 6. 6 f.

sanctuary of the god and the houses of wealthy men," but was shot by Apollo. Plutarch¹⁹¹ further speaks of "the wanderings and the service of the boy and the purifications that take place at Tempe," which in connection with his statement that the god fled to Tempe to obtain purification¹⁹² makes it clear that the boy in the religious drama played the part of Apollo. The sequel is told by others. Aelian¹⁹³ in his description of Tempe says: "The sons of the Thessalians declare that here too the Pythian Apollo was purified at the bidding of Zeus, when he had shot the serpent Python that guarded Delphi while Ge still occupied the oracle. Apollo crowned himself with this laurel of Tempe, took a branch of it in his right hand, and came to Delphi, where he took over the oracle as the son of Zeus and Leto And down to the present day at intervals of eight years the Delphians send a procession of high-born youths, and one of themselves as leader (*ἀρχιθέωρος*). On their arrival they offer a magnificent sacrifice at Tempe and return again when they have wreathed crowns of the same laurel with which the god crowned himself in the past. They traverse the road that is called the Pythian way And the crowns that are given to the victors at the Pythian games are made of this laurel."

So, then, the culminating act of the *Stepterion* was the wreathing or crowning with laurel of the youths who acted the part of the victorious god; and we are expressly told that victors in the Pythian games, which followed almost immediately,¹⁹⁴ were crowned with the same laurel. Two inferences are obvious. On the one hand, *Stepterion*

¹⁹¹ Plut. *de. def. orac.*, 15.

¹⁹² *Supra*, p. 402.

¹⁹³ Ael. *var. hist.* 3. 1, cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 298, Böckh.

¹⁹⁴ A. Mommsen *Delphika*, pp. 211, 214, from a comparison of Plut. *de def. orac.*, 2, ὀλίγον πρὸ Πυθίων and *ib.*, 15, ἀρτι.

means the "Coronation" rite (στεπτός, "crowned").¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Pythian victor was crowned king as the triumphant representative of the god. Moreover, when we recollect the stealthy attack made by Apollo's representative upon the "royal or kingly dwelling" of the human Serpent, it becomes highly probable that the Pythian victor originally succeeded to the crown as being the champion who had slain the previous king. These inferences are materially strengthened by the fact that the Pythian games were at first held, not every fourth year, but every eighth year:¹⁹⁶ they are indeed termed "an eight-year festival" (ἐννεετηρίς)—the very word used by Plutarch of the *Step-terion*. Also it is known that the earliest form of the Pythian contest on record was "the singing of a hymn to the god";¹⁹⁷ and that this hymn, the famous νόμος Πυθικός, described the fight of Apollo with the Serpent.¹⁹⁸ Now Pausanias,¹⁹⁹ in his description of the temple at Delphi, says: "Not far from the hearth stands the throne of Pindar: it is of iron, and they say that whenever Pindar came to Delphi he used to sit on it and sing his songs to Apollo." From this it may be inferred that the Pythian victor was not only crowned king as personating the god, but actually sat on a throne beside the sacred hearth.

¹⁹⁵ Cp. Hesych. στεπτήρια * στέμματα, ἃ οἱ ἱκέται ἐκ τῶν κλάδων ἐξήπτον, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*,² 616, 29 (Cos) ὁ [τοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱ]ερεὺς στέ(π)τει= στέφει, *Anth. Plan.*, 306. 2, δινωτοῦ στρεπτόν (Jacobs and others cj. στεπτόν) ὑπερθε λίθον.

¹⁹⁶ Demetrius of Phalerum *ap. schol. Od.*, 3. 267, τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐννεετηρικὸν τῶν Πυθίων ἀγῶνα ἀγωνοθετεῖ Κρέων, ἐνίκα δὲ Δημόδοκος Λάκων, Eustath., 1466, 7, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Κρέοντος τὸν ἐννεετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων * ἐν ᾧ ἐνίκα Δημόδοκος Λάκων, schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 298, Böckh ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν καταρχὰς μὲν διὰ ἐννεετηρίδος, μετέστη δὲ εἰς πεντετηρίδα κ.τ.λ., Censorin. *de die nat.*, 18. 6, Delphis quoque ludi qui vocantur Pythia post annum octavum olim conficiebantur.

¹⁹⁷ Paus., 10. 7. 2, Strab., 421.

¹⁹⁸ Strab., 421, Poll., 4. 84, schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 297, Böckh.

¹⁹⁹ Paus., 10. 24. 5.

Further confirmation of my conjecture, that a priestly king once reigned for eight years only at Delphi and that he was chosen as victor in the Pythian contest, is fortunately forthcoming. Aristotle²⁰⁰ states that the king who presided at the common hearth of the people was sometimes called their *archon* or "ruler." And an inscription²⁰¹ found in 1892 at Magnesia on the Mæander mentions a certain Xenyllus, who lived about 1090 B.C., as *proarchon* or "ruler of the eight-year festival at Delphi." It thus appears that, just as at Athens we saw first kings, then ten-year *archons*, and lastly annual *archons*, so at Delphi the annual *archons* were preceded by eight-year *proarchons*, and the eight-year *proarchons* by kings: also, that it was the express business of the eight-year *proarchons* to preside over the eight-year Pythian festival.

With regard to the second part of this festival, the *Heroïs*, its name the "hero-feast" coupled with Plutarch's statement that its ritual resembled the evocation of the earth-goddess Semele suggests that it portrayed the resurrection of the Delphic heroes. But who were the heroes? Possibly the whole line of Delphic kings and victors. "At Delphi," says the scholiast on Pindar,²⁰² "an entertainment for heroes takes place, at which the god appears to invite the heroes to a banquet." This is said *à propos* of Neoptolemus, who, according to Pausanias,²⁰³ was slain on the sacred hearth by

²⁰⁰ *Supra*, p. 370 n. 3.

²⁰¹ O. Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*, Berlin, 1894, p. 7. ὡς δὲ περὶ ὀγδοῦν κονθ' ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν ἐπά[νησαν οἱ λευκοὶ] κώρακες, εὐθὺς ἅμα θυσίαις χαριστηρίους [ἐ]πέμ[φθησαν εἰς Δελ]φούς ἐρωτήσοντες περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἰδί[αν] ἐπανόδο[υ] ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἀργεῖ Θεμιστοῦς, προάρχοντος ἐν [Δελ]φοῖς τὴν ἐν[. . .] Ξενύλλου. The text is given also by Sakolowski in *Mythographi Graeci*, ii., 1, p. xxi., and Michel *Recueil d'inscr. grecques*, 855. For the last lacuna Kern *op. cit.*, p. 10, suggests τὴν ἐν[αῖουσιν] sc. ἀρχήν: but τὴν ἐν[νεετηρίδα] is more likely; see Pauly-Wissowa, iv., 2590 and 2605.

²⁰² Schol. Pind. *Nem.*, 7. 68.

²⁰³ Paus., 10. 24. 4 and 6, cp. 1. 11. 1, 1. 13. 9, 4. 17. 4, "Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, slew Priam at the altar of the God of the Courtyard, and by a

the priest of Apollo²⁰⁴ and being buried close by was worshipped with annual²⁰⁵ sacrifices as a hero.²⁰⁶ Euripides²⁰⁷ in a well-known passage describes how single-handed and armed with the weapons of the god he had fought for his life against the joint attack of the Delphians—"a sword-bearing band shaded with laurel." Have we here a reminiscence of the priestly king killed at his hearth on the expiration of his term of office?²⁰⁸ However that may be, Pindar, of whose enthronement at Delphi I have spoken, took rank with the Delphic heroes and was specially invited to the banquet of the god (*θεοξένια*)²⁰⁹—a distinction conferred on his descendants after him.²¹⁰ Pindar, then, if any one, would be likely to know the true significance of the *Heroïs* held every eight years at Delphi. A fragment of his poetry preserved by Plato²¹¹ runs as follows :

"For from whomsoever Persephone hath accepted the atonement of ancient woe, their souls she sendeth up once more

notable coincidence he was himself slaughtered at Delphi beside the altar of Apollo. Hence to be treated as one has treated others is called the retribution of Neoptolemus." We are reminded of *The priest who slew the slayer, and shall himself be slain*.

²⁰⁴ He was struck by "a man with a knife" (*ἀνὴρ μαχαίρα*, Pind. *Nem.*, 7. 61) usually called the "Knife-man" (*Μαχαίρεως* Asclepiades *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 62, Strab. 421, Sophocles *ap.* Eustath. 1479, 13, *Apollod. epitom.* 6. 14). Another version made him slay himself with a knife (Pherecydes *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1654, *ἐαυτὸν δὲ κτείνει μαχαίρα*, if the text is sound). See further Roscher *Lex.*, iii., 172 and 176.

²⁰⁵ Heliodorus speaks of sacrifices paid to Neoptolemus every four years at the time of the Pythian contest: *Aethiop.* 2. 34, ἡ δὲ θυσία καὶ ἡ θεωρία, τετραετηρίδα ταύτ', ὅτε περ καὶ ὁ Πυθίων ἀγὼν (ἔστι δὲ νυνὶ ὡς οἶσθα) πέμπουσιν Αἰνείαντες Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλεύως.

²⁰⁶ On Neoptolemus as the hero *par excellence* at Delphi see A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 225 ff.

²⁰⁷ Eur. *Andr.*, 1085 ff.

²⁰⁸ J. Töpffer, *Beiträge*, p. 132 f., suggests that Neoptolemus' death was sacrificial, and compares it with the human sacrifices to Apollo at the Athenian festival of the *Thargelia*.

²⁰⁹ Eustath. *vit. Pind.*, p. civ., 14 ff., W. Christ.

²¹⁰ Plut. *de sera numinis vindicta*, 13.

²¹¹ Plat. *Meno*, 81 B f.

to the upper sun in the ninth year (*ἐνάτῳ ἔτει ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν*). From these grow up glorious kings and men of swift strength and men surpassing in poetic skill ; and for all future time they are called holy heroes among men.'

This resurrection of heroes after an interval of eight years can hardly be other than the resurrection represented at the eight-year *Heroïs*. On that showing, the heroes in question must have been kings and victors in gymnastic and musical contests—in short, the whole dynasty of priestly kings, who were apparently regarded as re-incarnations of their predecessors.²¹²

Lastly, as to the third and concluding portion of the festival, it is not difficult from our present point of view to see that Charila was a human scape-goat,²¹³ to whom the guilt of the community in general, and of the king in particular, was transferred. This implies that at the end of every eight years the king was thought unfit to reign without a definite act of expiation : probably in the far past the king had himself been put to death as one who was no longer vigorous enough to produce satisfactory crops.²¹⁴

At one time this eight-year festival seems to have been observed over a wider area. The Delians, for example,

²¹² This idea of reincarnation recurs in connection with the nine-year cycle of the Arcadians. Plin. *nat. hist.*, 8. 82, cites from Scopas *Olympionica* the statement that Demænetus the Parrhasian at the human sacrifice offered to Zeus *Λυκαῖος* by the Arcadians tasted the entrails of a boy-victim and was thereupon transformed into a wolf, but that nine years later he returned to human shape and won a victory in boxing at Olympia. In the same context (8. 81) Pliny quotes from Euanthes another Arcadian tale to the effect that the family of a certain Anthus cast lots, and that the man on whom the lot fell was taken to a lake and, after hanging his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across the lake to a desert place, where he was transformed into a wolf ; that he associated with other such wolves for the space of nine years, and, if he had during that time abstained from attacking men, he was restored to his original shape, resumed his cast-off clothing, and had an additional nine years' lease of life granted him.

²¹³ Cp. the examples given by Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii., 124 ff.

²¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 392 f., cp. p. 383.

used in early days to send a sacred embassy to Delphi, a custom which having fallen in desuetude was revived in the second century B.C. and thenceforward maintained in accordance with the old eight-year cycle: an extant inscription²¹⁵ records a long list of Delian priests who together with certain Attic magistrates paid first-fruits to the god on that solemn occasion. Of more importance is the account given by Proclus²¹⁶ of the Bœotian *Daphnephoria* or "Laurel-bearing." This rite, which is best known nowadays through the noble painting of Sir Frederick Leighton, was enacted in the following fashion. "In Bœotia at intervals of eight years (*δὲ ἐννετηρίδος*) the priests used to carry laurels to the precinct of Apollo, extolling him by means of a choir of maidens. The custom sprang from this cause. The Aeolians who dwelt in Arne and its neighbourhood migrated thence at the bidding of an oracle, and laying siege to Thebes, which had previously been occupied by Pelasgians, captured the town. When a festival of Apollo common to them both occurred, they made a truce and, having cut laurels, the one side from Helicon, the other from the river Melas, brought the same to the god. But Polematas the leader of the Bœotians dreamed that a young man gave him a complete set of armour and bade him offer prayers to Apollo along with a company of laurel-bearers once in every eight years. Two days later he attacked and vanquished the enemy. So he himself performed the rite of laurel-bearing, and the custom has been kept up ever since. In it they wreath a piece of olive-wood with laurels and various flowers. A bronze ball is attached to the top; and from it hang smaller balls. About the middle of the staff

²¹⁵ *Corp. inscr. Attic.* II., ii., no. 985, p. 432 τῆς πρώτης ἐννετη[ρίδος] . . . τὰς ἀπαρχὰς [τῶ] Ἀπό[λλωνι τῶ] Πυθίῳ. See Busolt *Griechische Geschichte*, i.,² 676 n. 2.

²¹⁶ Procl. *chrestomathia*, 25, p. 352 f. Gaisford, [Cp. the Pindaric δαφνηφορέων (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. 50 ff., no. 659, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* Nov. 19, 1904, p. 1476 ff.).] Schol. Clem. Alex., p. 94 f. Klotz.

is a ball of less size than the ball at the top: this they bind with purple fillets. The end of the staff they deck with a saffron-coloured stuff. They take the topmost ball to denote the sun, regarding Apollo himself as a sun-god; the ball beneath, to denote the moon, the small balls attached being the stars and planets, and the fillets, of which there are 365, being the year. A boy, whose parents are both living, is the ruler (*ἄρχει*) of the laurel-bearing. His nearest relative carries the wreathed staff, which they call *κορο* (*κωπώ*)²¹⁷; but the laurel-bearer himself follows holding the laurel. He has his hair long, and wears a golden crown. He is robed in a glittering costume reaching to his feet, which are shod with military shoes (*ἱφικρατίδας*).²¹⁸ A choir of maidens follows after him, holding out branches while they chant hymns of supplication. The laurel-bearing procession used to go to the shrines of Ismenian²¹⁹ and Chalazian²²⁰ Apollo." According to Proclus, then, the first laurel-bearer was a victorious Boeotian leader, whose successors at intervals of eight years were said to "rule" the laurel-bearing, and were dressed as kings (golden crown, &c.). Moreover, they obviously represented the sky-god or sun-god—witness not only the long hair and glittering costume, but the staff tipped by a bronze sphere to denote the sun,²²¹ with others to denote the moon and

²¹⁷ The name *κωπώ* might denote "the thing held," cp. *κώπη* "handle" (connected with the root of *capio*, *capulus*). But cod. H. reads *κοπώ*, as did the first hand in cod. A.; and *κοπώ* would presumably mean "the thing cut" (from the root of *κόπτειν*), i.e. the branch lopped.

²¹⁸ *ἱφικρατίδες* were military shoes called after the Athenian general Iphicrates; cp. our "Wellingtons" or "Bluchers."

²¹⁹ On the Theban Apollo *Ἰσμήνιος* see Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 54.

²²⁰ Codd. A. H. have *χαλαζίου*, which would signify Apollo as the averter of hail-storms (*χάλαζα*, "hail"). Codd. B. C. have the meaningless *γαλεξίου*. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 72, takes *Χαλάξιος* to be a by-name of Apollo *Ἰσμήνιος* at Thebes; but thinks that *Γαλάξιος*, a name formed from the place Galaxium on Mt. Libethrius in Boeotia (*ib.*, ii., 45), may be the right reading.

²²¹ Max. Tyr., 8. 8., mentions a similar custom of the Pæonians: *Παίονες σίβουσι μὲν Ἥλιον, ἄγαλμα δὲ Ἥλιου Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μακροῦ*

stars. At Thebes, as at Delphi, the tenure of this priestly king was reduced from eight years to one. Pausanias²²² says: "The following custom is still to my knowledge observed in Thebes. A boy of good family, handsome and strong, is made priest of the Ismenian Apollo for a year. His title is laurel-bearer, for these boys wear crowns of laurel leaves." Dr. Frazer, in his commentary on this passage, suggests that the Theban laurel-bearing may have commemorated the slaying of the serpent by Cadmus, who was said to have served Ares eight years, as expiation for his offence.²²³ If this be so,²²⁴ the parallel between Theban and Delphic usage is complete; for Thebes, like Delphi, had a tradition that its monster was no mere animal, but a king called Serpent. Palæphatus²²⁵ declares: "The king of Thebes at that time was Serpent, the son of Ares, whom Cadmus slew, thereby obtaining the kingdom," and a fragment of Dercylus,²²⁶ the Argive historian, states "that Harmonia was the daughter of a Theban king named Serpent, and that Cadmus married her after slaying her father." Indeed, an archaic vase in the Louvre collection²²⁷

ξύλου. Cp. the monetary types of Uranopolis in Macedonia. Obv. the sun as a rayed globe or rayed star: sometimes the sun and moon together. Rev. a figure, whose head is surmounted by a spike and a star, sitting on a globe and holding a long sceptre topped by a ball from which hang two fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Macedonia, &c., p. 133 f.).

²²² Paus., 9. 10. 4.

²²³ Apollod., 3. 4. 2, Suid. and Phot. s.v. Καδμεία νίκη.

²²⁴ An argument in favour of Dr. Frazer's suggestion is furnished by a vase from Vulci, now at Berlin, which represents Cadmus attacking the serpent in the presence of Harmonia and various divinities. Cadmus is crowned with laurel; Nike, Athena, and Eros hold laurel-wreaths; Apollo has a laurel-wand; and the blank spaces of the design are filled in with laurel-trees (Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 837 f.). A vase from the Crimea, now at St. Petersburg, also shows Cadmus crowned with laurel before he attacks the serpent (*ib.*, ii., 839).

²²⁵ Palæphat. *de incredib.*, 6.

²²⁶ Dercylus *ap. schol. Eur. Phæn.* 7 = Müller *frag. hist. Gr.*, iv., 387.

²²⁷ *Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, pl. 12, 2 = S. Reinach *répertoire des vases peints*, i.,

depicts Cadmus slaying the bearded snake beneath the porch of a palace, which recalls the "kingly dwelling" of the Delphic Serpent.

I would end by anticipating an objection, or rather two objections. If the victors of Delphi and Thebes were really regarded as temporary representatives of the sky-god, why do we hear of Apollo, not Zeus? And why were they crowned with laurel, not oak?

Apollo, it may be surmised, was but the solar form of the sky-god Zeus, a mere differentiation of that deity.²²⁸ As such he would dwell below the earth and thence send up his oracles to men.²²⁹ In short, Apollo was near akin to Hades, the earth-Zeus; and the fact that cults of Hades were so rare in Greece finds its explanation in the popularity of Apollo-worship. At Delphi, if Apollo occupies the foreground, Zeus can at least be recognised in the background. Within the great temple, side by side with the statue of Apollo *Μοιραγέτης*, stood the statue of Zeus *Μοιραγέτης*.²³⁰ And the most cherished relics of the sacred precinct were connected with Zeus. Zeus had here erected the stone that Cronus had vomited forth:²³¹ it was oiled daily and dressed in wool at every festival,²³² being a veritable *bætyl* (*βαίτυλος*) of Zeus.²³³ The eagles on the far-famed *omphalos* were those of Zeus.²³⁴ A vase at Vienna²³⁵ shows the *omphalos* flanked by Zeus and Apollo; while another at St. Petersburg²³⁶ represents Themis (?)

²²⁸ Cp. *Folk-Lore*, xv., 274.

²²⁹ *Ib.*, xv., 275.

²³⁰ Paus., *IO.* 24. 4.

²³¹ Hes. *theog.*, 498 f.

²³² Paus., *IO.* 24. 6.

²³³ *Etym. mag.*, 192, 6, Hesych. s. v. *βαίτυλος*, Bekker *anecd.*, 224, *IO.* Prisc. *inst.*, 7. 32.

²³⁴ Pind. *Pyth.*, 4. 4, and schol. *ad loc.*

²³⁵ Benndorf *Griech. und sicil. Vasenbild.*, p. 78 = Reinach *Rép. des vases peints*, ii., 183, 1.

²³⁶ *Compte rendu de la commission impériale archéol. de Saint-Petersbourg*, Atlas, 1860, pl. 2 = Reinach *op. cit.*, i., 3.

seated by the *omphalos* in conversation with an enthroned Zeus, Apollo being absent altogether. It was Zeus who had established Apollo as his inspired mouthpiece,²³⁷ and the Pythian priestess invoked Zeus immediately before taking her seat on the prophetic tripod.²³⁸ The prominence thus accorded to Zeus at Delphi is readily intelligible if Apollo himself was the solar (and therefore chthonian and mantic) form of the sky-god.

But on this showing one would expect to find Apollo, like Zeus, connected with the oak, not with the laurel, at any rate in the remote past. And that is actually the case. The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid,²³⁹ after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the Pythian games were instituted, and that "whosoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*æsculeæ . . . frondis*): the laurel as yet was not, and Phœbus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree." It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi. Now the earliest worshippers of the Delphic Apollo were "Cretans from Minoan Cnossus";²⁴⁰ and in Minoan Cnossus the oak was regarded as the tree of Zeus.²⁴¹ I infer that the Delphic Apollo had inherited the oak of the Cretan²⁴² Zeus. Agreeably to this we read that, when the Cretans dedicated at Delphi an image of Apollo, it was simply a natural bough.²⁴³

²³⁷ Aesch. *Eum.*, 17 ff.

²³⁸ *Ib.*, 28 f.

²³⁹ *Ov. met.*, I. 445 ff.

²⁴⁰ *Hymn. Hom. Ap. Pyth.*, 218.

²⁴¹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 405 ff.

²⁴² Note also the legend that the second temple of Delphi was built by one Pteras, after whom Aptēræi in Crete was named (Paus., 10. 5. 10).

²⁴³ Pind. *Pyth.*, 5. 42, calls it τὸν μονόδροπον φυτόν, i.e. the statue "which had been torn away with a single wrench (cp. Hesych. μονορρήξ· ἀπερρηγμένος, ἀπεσπασμένος) having grown" into shape on the tree. Herwerden (*Lex. suppl. s.v. μονόξυλος*) would read μονόδρουν τύπον, "a figure carved from one block

Eumelus the epic poet in his *Europaia*, which must have described the fortunes of the Cretan Zeus, "spoke of the image of Apollo at Delphi as a pillar in the lines :—

ὄφρα θεῶν δεκάτην ἀκροθινιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν
σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο."²⁴⁴

"That we might for the god hang up a tithe and a trophy
on his holy walls and his high pillar."

In other words, at Delphi as elsewhere²⁴⁵ the sacred tree was represented by a column, a fact which throws fresh light on two at least of the problems connected with the Delphic cult.

Zeus in the Libyan Oasis had an oracular oak, which in process of time withered away.²⁴⁶ Q. Curtius Rufus²⁴⁷ the historian, writing in the first century of our era, describes the cult-object in the Ammonium not as a sacred oak, nor even as a high pillar, but as "closely resembling an *omphalos*." I would suggest the same origin for the *omphalos* at Delphi, *viz.* : that it was the relic of a sacred stump or tree. This accords with the elongated shape that it has on certain vases.²⁴⁸ It also accounts for several other peculiarities of this much-debated object. The eagles of

of oak"; but the analogy of the dry log (*αὖρον ξύλον*) dedicated in the sanctuary of Apollo *Λύκιος* at Sicyon (Paus., 2. 9. 7) renders it unnecessary to suppose that the bough was carved at all.

²⁴⁴ Clem. Al. *strom.*, I. 164. The couplet cited by Clement hardly proves his point : but he had access to the context, which we have not. Bötticher (*Baumkultus*, p. 227) accepts his statement on the ground that other representations of Apollo as a pillar are known (*ib.* fig. 53 c, d, e). Apollo at Amyclæ "resembled a bronze pillar" (Paus., 3. 19. 2).

²⁴⁵ See e.g. A. Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi 9 ff. Sacred oaks thus treated are described in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 271, 407 413 f., xviii., 85 f., 88, 370.

²⁴⁶ *Folk-lore*, xv., 295, n. 216.

²⁴⁷ Curt. 4. 7. 23, id, quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: *umbilico maxime similis* est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus.

²⁴⁸ E.g., *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii., 16 f., figs. 4—6, Baumeister *Denkmäler*, ii., 1009, fig. 1215, "in Art einer verkürzten Säule."

Zeus appear, one on either side of it, in a marble relief from Sparta²⁴⁹ and on coins of Megara²⁵⁰ and Cyzicus,²⁵¹ while a coin of Patara²⁵² and a Græco-Etruscan cist²⁵³ show a single eagle perched on the top of it. This disposition of the birds recalls that of the doves at Dodona,²⁵⁴ where Zeus still had a living oak-tree, not a petrified stump. The *omphalos* was decked with prophylactic fillets;²⁵⁵ and fillets dangle from the apex of Apollo-pillars on coins of Ambracia²⁵⁶ and Apollonia in Illyria.²⁵⁷ The *agrenon* or net-work of wool, in which the *omphalos* was dressed,²⁵⁸ was a mere mesh of fillets and is found in combination with them on the *xoanon* of Zeus at Mylasa. Lastly, the word *omphalos* (ὀμφαλός) itself has been rightly connected with *ompha* (ὀμφά) the "oracular voice,"²⁵⁹ and again points to an oak like that of Dodona.²⁶⁰ I take it, then, that the common art-type of

²⁴⁹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii. 14, fig. 2, after *Mittheil. Arch. Inst. Ath.*, 1887, pl. 12.

²⁵⁰ P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.*, pl. A, 9.

²⁵¹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii. 14, fig. 1, after *Num. Chron.*, ser. III., vii., pl. 1, 23.

²⁵² Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münzt. 5, 6, cp. *ib.* 10.

²⁵³ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, i., 320 f., fig. 383, cp. Reinach *Rép. des vases peints*, i., 313, 3.

²⁵⁴ See the bronze coin of Epirus figured in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 408, fig. 4. Most authors speak of three doves at Dodona (Jebb on *Soph. Trach.*, p. 204); but Sophocles mentions two (*Trach.*, 172), and Philostratus Major one (*imagg.*, 33. 1).

²⁵⁵ *Eur. Ion.*, 225 στέμμασι γ' ἐνδόνον, Strab. 420 τετανωμένον, cp., e.g., Baumeister *Denkmäler*, i., 104, fig. 110, ii., 1009, fig. 1215, 1110, fig. 1307.

²⁵⁶ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münzt. 8 I, 1—3. ²⁵⁷ *Ib.*, 1, 7.

²⁵⁸ M. W. de Visser *de Gr. diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, p. 64 ff.

²⁵⁹ Cp. εὐόμφαλος = εὖσμος from ὀμφά = ὀσμή. There is then no connection between the Delphic *omphalos* and ὀμφαλός, "navel," except by popular etymology.

²⁶⁰ Argos too had an oracular ὀμφαλός (*Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, Nov. 19, 1904, p. 1504). The name Ὀμφαλες occurs in an inscription from Dodona (Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialektinschriften*, 1347). There was a plain near Cnossus called Ὀμφάλιον (*Call. h. Ion.*, 45, *alib.*); and towns in Epirus (*Ptol.*, 3. 14. 7) and Thessaly (*Steph. Byz. s. v.* Ὀμφάλιον and Παραταῖοι) bore the same name. In each case the cult of an oak-Zeus existed within easy reach, viz., at Argos, Cnossus, Dodona, and Scotussa respectively.

Apollo seated on his *omphalos*²⁶¹ is comparable with that of Zeus *Ἑλχανος* seated on his tree-trunk:²⁶² indeed, a unique Cretan coin at Glasgow²⁶³ actually represents Apollo seated on a stump—a striking parallel to the Zeus of Phæstus.

The brilliant discoveries of Mr. A. Evans at Cnossus have enabled us to trace the evolution of another Apolline symbol—the tripod. The Cretan Zeus, to whom Apollo approximated, had in Minoan times a group of three sacred trees, which were conventionalised into a triad of pillars.²⁶⁴ These pillars were connected by a top-piece, serving sometimes as a libation-table,²⁶⁵ sometimes as a seat-like receptacle,²⁶⁶ sometimes as a bowl.²⁶⁷ Mr. Evans justly remarks²⁶⁸ that this last variety supplied the prototype of such tripods as the Oxford specimen²⁶⁹ or that dedicated to Apollo at Delphi out of the spoils taken at Plataea,²⁷⁰ in which the divinity finds an anthropomorphic or zoöomorphic expression. Plainly, therefore, the ordinary domestic tripod was a convenient substitute for the bætylic triad, and this is its true significance in the Apolline cult.²⁷¹ Apollo seated on his

²⁶¹ *E.g.*, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 3, 35-43.

²⁶² *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 413 fig. 8.

²⁶³ G. Macdonald, *Cat. of Gk. coins in the Hunterian collection*, ii., pl. 43, 7.

²⁶⁴ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi., 138-143, *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff., fig. 3.

²⁶⁵ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi., 114 fig. 7.

²⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 115 fig. 9, 116 fig. 11.

²⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 117 fig. 14.

²⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 118.

²⁶⁹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xvi., 275 ff., pl. 12.

²⁷⁰ V. Duruy *Hist. Greece*, ii., 490 f. The description in Hdt., 9. 81, *ὁ τρίπους . . . ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφις* is inexact. The central stem of the tripod is formed by a coil of three separate snakes.

²⁷¹ Miss J. Harrison has suggested to me in conversation that the famous Delphic symbol Ε, concerning which Plutarch wrote his whimsical tractate *de εἰ ἀπὸ Delphos*, was simply a sacred sign for the bætylic triad, and should therefore be written as \sqcap or \sqcap . The former arrangement is supported by the triad of bætylic pillars found at Cnossus, which were conjoined at the base (*Class. Rev.*, xvii., 407 fig. 3). The latter has the analogy of the Apolline tripod in its favour. I incline to think that this view is decidedly more probable than the explanation which I put forward in *Folk-Lore*, xiv., 287 f.

tripod²⁷² was tantamount to Apollo seated on his *omphalos*. Again, we have seen that the cult of the Pelasgian oak-Zeus gave rise to the names *Triopas* and *Triops*.²⁷³ It is, then, a fair conjecture that the Pythagoreans, who preserved so much Pelasgian lore, called the Delphic tripod *triops*²⁷⁴ because it was originally the symbol of the Pelasgian oak-god. Well might bronze tripods be given as prizes at the games of Apollo *Τριόπιος*,²⁷⁵ whose cult had been founded by the Thessalian Triopas.²⁷⁶

But Delphi was not the only place where Apollo was connected with the oak. A fine tetradrachm of Catana signed by the artist Chœrion, shows a full-faced head of Apollo crowned with oak-leaves and flanked by bow and lyre.²⁷⁷ Golden crowns of oak-leaves were dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delos by Lysander and L. Cornelius Scipio.²⁷⁸ Beside Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*, oak-god of Caria and Lydia,²⁷⁹ we find Apollo *Ἀσκραῖος*, oak-god of Phrygia.²⁸⁰ Homer describes Apollo as leaning against an oak outside the walls of Troy²⁸¹ or perching in the form of an eagle on the oak of his father Zeus.²⁸² At Miletus too Apollo was called *Δρύμας* or *Δρυμαῖος*, the god "of the oak-wood."²⁸³ To one interesting cult-title we can unfortunately assign no locality. Two consecutive glosses in the lexicon of

²⁷² *E.g.*, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, i., 102 fig. 108.

²⁷³ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 288 f.

²⁷⁴ Hesych. *s.v.* τριόψ.

²⁷⁵ Hdt., i. 144.

²⁷⁶ Diod., 5. 61.

²⁷⁷ G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 132 f., pl. 9, 4, from a specimen in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow.

²⁷⁸ Dittenberger *Sylloge*,² 588, 7 and 100.

²⁷⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 296.

²⁸⁰ Menander Laodic. *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* in Walz *rhetores Græci*, ix., 329, 26. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416.

²⁸¹ *Il.*, 21. 549.

²⁸² *Il.*, 7. 58 ff.

²⁸³ *Δρύμας* Lyc. *Alex.*, 522, with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. Strab., 321: *Δρυμαῖος* schol. vet. *ad* Lyc. *Alex.*, 522, cp. Tzetz. *ib.* *Δρημαῖος*.

Hesychius run: Ἐρίφυλλον · τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῇ and ἐρίφυλλος δρῦς · ἡ πλατύφυλλος, καὶ ἡ καλουμένη φελλός, *i.e.* “*The very-leafy*, a title of Apollo and of Hermes” and “*The very-leafy oak*, the broad-leaved species, and the so-called cork-oak.” From this it is clear that the Greeks had a cult of Apollo named after a particular variety of oak-tree. Again, the connection between Apollo and the oak comes out clearly in the myth of Dryope.²⁸⁴ Dryops, king of Æta, the son of Spercheüs and Polydora,²⁸⁵ had an only daughter Dryope, who tended her father’s flocks. The Hamadryads loved her exceedingly and taught her how to hymn the gods and to dance. Apollo, who saw her dancing, was enamoured of her and, to attain his ends, became first a tortoise, which she fondled and put into her bosom, and then a snake. The second change scared away the nymphs, who left Dryope and her lover alone. Shortly afterwards Dryope was wedded to Andræmon, son of Oxylus; but the result of her union with Apollo was the birth of Amphissus. He grew to man’s estate, built the town of Æta, and established a temple of Apollo in Dryopis. When Dryope visited this temple, the Hamadryads carried her off and hid her in the forest. In her place they caused a poplar to spring from the ground and a fountain to gush forth beside it. Dryope now became a nymph. Amphissus founded a Nymphæum in her honour and a contest in running, which is still kept up. From this contest women are excluded, the reason given being that, when Dryope was carried off by the nymphs, two maidens revealed the fact to the natives of the land and thus incurred the anger of the nymphs, who transformed them into fir-trees.

In this myth Dryope, the “*oak-maiden*,” is replaced by a *poplar*—a change that we have already met with in the

²⁸⁴ Ant. Lib., 32, from the Ἐρεοιούμενα of Nicander.

²⁸⁵ Another version made Dryops the son of Apollo and of Dia, a daughter of Lycaon (schol. Ap. Rhod., 1. 1283, *Etym. mag.*, 288, 34, Tzetz. *ad* Lyc. *Alex.*, 480)

case of Zeus at Olympia, Lepreum, Sardes, and Cnossus.²⁸⁶ The same transition occurs in connection with Apollo himself. We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo *Σμινθεύς* standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him.²⁸⁷ Another coin of Apollonia in Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear the tops of three poplar-trees.²⁸⁸ The local cult was primitive in character; for autonomous coins of the town figure an aniconic Apollo-column crowned and filleted.²⁸⁹ I would suggest, therefore, that the three poplars visible on the coin of Caracalla are a triad of sacred trees, in which the deity was thought to reside.²⁹⁰ Apollo himself was probably represented by a priestly king with an annual tenure. For Herodotus²⁹¹ states that the cattle of the sun-god were kept there by the richest and noblest of the citizens, who mounted guard over them, each man for a year in turn. So sacrosanct was the man in charge that, when the citizens blinded one Evenius for neglect of his duties, their flocks and fields became barren, and oracles from Dodona and Delphi bade them make ample restitution to the injured man. This Evenius and his son Deiphonus had the gift of prophecy. The Apollonians regarded Apollo as the founder of their town:²⁹² when, therefore, Nero on coins of Apollonia describes him-

²⁸⁶ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 297 f.

²⁸⁷ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münzt. 5, 32, from a specimen in Imhoof's collection. The oak too perhaps figured in the local myths of Alexandria Troas: for a coin struck there under Commodus represents a herdsman with *chlamys* and *pedum* and a horse beneath a clearly-defined oak-tree (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Troas, p. 17, pl. 5, 7).

²⁸⁸ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münzt. 4, 36, from a specimen in Imhoof's collection.

²⁸⁹ Overbeck *ib.* Münzt. 1, 4-8.

²⁹⁰ *Supra*, p. 416, n. 264.

²⁹¹ *Hdt.*, 9. 93 f.

²⁹² *Paus.*, 5. 22. 3.

self as 'Α. κτίστης,²⁹³ he is presumably perpetuating the same tradition of a priestly king who personated the god.

Apollo, then, in several of his most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the αἰγειρος—a word which meant "oak" before it meant "poplar."²⁹⁴ In view of this fact I would venture to propound a fresh derivation of Apollo's name. The oldest form of the name seems to have been 'Απέλλων. Festus'²⁹⁵ assertion that "the ancients used to say *Apello* for *Apollo*" is borne out not only by the occurrence of 'Απέλλων in the inscriptions of Laconia, Megara, Corinth, Crete, Pamphylia, &c., but also by the fact that there was a month called 'Απελλαῖος at Delphi, Heraclea, Tauromenium, Macedonia, Lamia, Panticapæum, Phanagoria, Mylasa, Palmyra, Telanissus, &c., while such names as 'Απελλῆς, 'Απελλαῖος, 'Απελλίκων, were spread far and wide through the Greek world.²⁹⁶ Hence most recent investigators have started from 'Απέλλων as the "Grundform."²⁹⁷ I would therefore derive 'Απέλλων from the word ἀπελλόν, of which Hesychius says: ἀπελλόν · αἰγειρος, ὃ ἐστὶ εἶδος δένδρον, i.e., "*Apellon*, a poplar, a kind of tree."

An important inscription found at Delphi in 1895 records certain enactments of the Labyadæ, an ancient Delphic phratry.²⁹⁸ It appears that a festival named 'Απέλλαι was celebrated in the first Delphic month 'Απελλαῖος, which corresponded roughly with our July. The festival bore some resemblance to the Athenian Apaturia. Victims called ἀπελλαῖα and loaves called δαράται were then brought, the

²⁹³ Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 266.

²⁹⁴ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 297.

²⁹⁵ Paul. exc. Fest., p. 19, Lindemann "*Apellinem* antiqui dicebant pro Apollinem."

²⁹⁶ For references see Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 1, G. Meyer *Griech. Grammatik*,³ p. 64 f.

²⁹⁷ See O. Hoffmann *Die griech. Dialekte*, iii., 271.

²⁹⁸ Dittenberger *Sylloge*,² 438, Michel *Recueil*, 995.

latter apparently on behalf of girls at their marriage and of infants received into the phratry. The inscription gives us more than one formula of swearing used by the Labyadæ, whose oaths prove that they recognised a triad of gods, Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo. We have met with the same triad before²⁹⁹ as a variation on the original Zeus-triad, *viz.* Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades. I am thus strengthened in my belief that Apollo at Delphi was the chthonian³⁰⁰ form of the sky-god, in a word the local Hades. But this in turn supports my contention that he was a poplar-god. For the poplar, as Bötticher³⁰¹ has shown, was the tree sacred to Hades. Suidas³⁰² states that it was "a chthonian tree," adding that it was said to grow on the banks of the Acheron and hence was called Ἀχερωΐς in Homer.³⁰³ Some held that the Ἀχερωΐς was a kind of oak³⁰⁴; but it was commonly identified with the white poplar or λεύκη. Its legend is told by Servius.³⁰⁵ Leuce, daughter of Oceanus, the fairest of all nymphs, was loved by Pluto, who carried her off to the world below. With him she spent her life; and, when in due time she died, he solaced his love by causing the tree λεύκη to grow in the Elysian fields. If my speculations are in the main correct, Hades the lover of Λεύκη is to be identified, not only with Zeus Λευκαῖος, but also with Apollo the god of the poplar (Ἀπελλόν).

The foregoing argument is strengthened by the fact that the same alternatives, oak and poplar, occur in the case of other solar personages. The Heliades, daughters of the

²⁹⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 279.

³⁰⁰ Porphyrius *ap. Serv. in Verg. ecl.*, 5. 66, declares "triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem : et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum patrem in terris, *Apollinem apud inferos*." Vediovis, the chthonian form of the Roman Jupiter, "was commonly said to be Apollo" (Gell., 5. 12. 12).

³⁰¹ Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 441 ff.

³⁰² Suid. s. v. λεύκη.

³⁰³ Cp. *Etym. mag.*, 180, 49 ff., *Serv. in Verg. Aen.*, 5. 134.

³⁰⁴ Schol. *Il.*, 16. 482 φηγὸν εἶδος.

³⁰⁵ *Serv. in Verg. ecl.*, 7. 61.

Sun, were transformed according to one account into oaks,³⁰⁶ according to the usual version into poplars.³⁰⁷ Heracles too, whose relation to Zeus I hope to examine on another occasion, had solar powers;³⁰⁸ and he likewise is connected with oak and poplar. On the one hand, he planted two oaks beside the altars of Zeus Στράτιος in Pontus,³⁰⁹ and founded a cult of Aphrodite Πασιφάεσσα in Thessaly beneath an evergreen oak.³¹⁰ His toils and troubles were foretold to him by his father's oak at Dodona.³¹¹ He was, according to Callimachus,³¹² apotheosised in Phrygia beneath an oak-tree. His pyre on Mount Ceta was built of oak and wild-olive.³¹³ A branch of oak was an acceptable gift to him;³¹⁴ and his club is surrounded on coins by a wreath of oak-leaves.³¹⁵ On the other hand, Heracles was said to have brought the white poplar from the banks of the Acheron in Thesprotis;³¹⁶ and the white poplar was his favourite wreath.³¹⁷ A bronze statuette of Heracles,

³⁰⁶ Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2588.

³⁰⁷ *Ib.*, i., 1983.

³⁰⁸ Heracles forced Helios to lend him the golden cup in which he used to cross the ocean (Pherecydes *ap.* Athen., 470 c., Apollod., 2. 5. 10, cp. the vase-paintings in Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1995, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, iii., 93 fig. 3763); and at Megalopolis there was a statue of Helios "surnamed *Saviour* and *Heracles*" (Paus., 8. 31. 7). Macrobius' identification of Heracles with the sun is based on evidence drawn from Tyre, Egypt, and Gades (Macrob. *Sat.*, i. 20. 10): on Heracles = the Tyrian Melqart see Roscher *Lex. s. v.* "Melqart"; and on Heracles = the Egyptian Shu see Stein *ad* Hdt., 2. 42. Dürnbach in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, iii., 110, concludes "Héracles est comme Apollon un dieu solaire"; Tümpel in Roscher *Lex.*, iii., 886, "Er ist ein Heliosheros . . . zum Sonnengott geworden."

³⁰⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.*, 16. 239.

³¹⁰ [Aristot.] *mir. ausc.*, 133, p. 48, 12 Westermann.

³¹¹ Soph. *Trach.*, 171 f., 1166 ff., [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.*, 1477 f.

³¹² Callim. *h. Dian.*, 159, ὃ γε Φρυγίῃ περ ὑπὸ δρυὶ γνῖα θεωθεῖς.

³¹³ Soph. *Trach.*, 1191 ff., cp. [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.*, 1641 ff.

³¹⁴ *Anth. Pal.*, 6. 351 Callimachus.

³¹⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Ionia, p. 151, pl. 17, 1; *ib.*, Mysia, p. 1, pl. 1, 2.

³¹⁶ Paus., 5. 14. 2, *alib.*

³¹⁷ Theocr., 2. 121, Ov. *her.*, 9. 64, *alib.*

now in the British Museum, represents him wearing a poplar-wreath,³¹⁸ as does a fine marble head in the same collection.³¹⁹ In fact, as Virgil³²⁰ puts it, "*populus Alcīdæ gratissima*." Hence in the Rhodian Tlepolemea—games held in memory of Tlepolemus son of Heracles—the victor's wreath was of white poplar.³²¹

Another surrogate of the oak was the laurel, or, to speak more accurately, the bay. Professor J. R. Green informs me that the species of oak most likely to flourish in northern Greece, the *quercus ilex* or holm-oak, bears a decided resemblance to the bay. He has kindly furnished me with specimen leaves of the two trees, and points out that they approximate to each other alike in shape and in colour. The bay-leaf, like the *ilex*-leaf, is ovate-lanceolate, the former being minutely dentated, the latter minutely serrated. Both have a glossy dark-green upper-surface and a lighter under-surface. In fact, the untrained observer might readily confuse the two. It should also be noted that the Delphic bay came from Tempe,³²² where it was called *δυναρεία*,³²³ a name perhaps comparable³²⁴ with *δάρυλλος*, the Macedonian word for "oak."³²⁵ Indeed, various philologists have held that names of the laurel or bay are related to names of the oak.³²⁶ If that be so, we have found an

³¹⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes*, p. 219, No. 1297, "a poplar-wreath (?)."

³¹⁹ *Roscher Lex.*, i., 2166.

³²⁰ *Verg. ecl.*, 7. 61.

³²¹ *Tzetz. in Lyc. Alex.*, 911, schol. rec. *Pind. Ol.*, 7. 141.

³²² *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, p. 298 Böckh, *Paus.*, 10. 5. 9.

³²³ *Hesych. s. v. δυναρεία*.

³²⁴ If we may assume that *δυναρεία* should be written *δαρνεία*. But *non liquet*.

³²⁵ *Hesych. s. v. δάρυλλος*.

³²⁶ So L. Meyer *vergl. Gram.*,² i., 70, Hoffmann *Gr. Dial.*, ii., 429, Lindsay *Lat. lang.*, p. 286, cp. Schrader *Reallex.* p. 505, Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.*, i., 235. The names in question are: (a) *Oak*. *Hesych. δάρυλλος · ἡ δρυς ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων*. Irish *dair*, *daur*. (b) *Laurel*. *Lat. laurus*. *Hesych. λάφνη · δάφνη*. *Περγαῖοι*. *Hesych. δυναρεία · ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπειοι δάφνη*. τ

adequate answer to our second question: Why was the Delphic victor crowned with laurel, not with oak? We reply with some confidence that the laurel or bay was a recognised substitute for the oak.

One more botanical point, and I have done. In Greece special importance was attached to mistletoe (*ἱξός*) growing on the oak. Ion³²⁷ the tragedian in his *Phœnix* or *Cæneus* called mistletoe, "the sweat of the oak," just as Antiphanes³²⁸ the comedian in his *Aphrodisius* called wine "the sweat of the Bromian spring," *i.e.* of the vine. The implication is perhaps that the mistletoe was the concentrated essence, or life-blood of the oak. This assumption at least enables us to understand the part played by mistletoe in myth and cult. The good ship Argo was not only fitted with a fragment of Dodonæan oak,³²⁹ but also, according to Alexander Polyhistor,³³⁰ constructed of wood from the "lion"-tree, which he described as a tree like the mistletoe-bearing oak: it could not, he said, be destroyed by water or by fire³³¹ any more than the mistletoe can. If, as I have already supposed,³³² the Argo or Zeus-ship was a mythical expression for the sun, it may be that the mistletoe was credited with special

δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία. Michel 1128 (Thessaly) ἀρχιδανυχαφορείσας. Collitz 1329 (Thessaly) Δανυχαῖ[ου]. Alcman *frag.* 17 Bergk⁴ δανυχοφόρον. Hesych. δανυμόν · εὐκαστον ξύλον δάφνης. Schol. Nicand. *ther.* 94, Ἀντίγονος δὲ λέγει δαύχμου, ἔστι δὲ δάφνη πικρά. Nicand. *ther.* 94 δαύκου, *alex.* 199 δαύκοιο with context.

³²⁷ Ion *ap.* Athen. 45 D. For Cæneus as the Greek Balder see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 82.

³²⁸ Antiphanes *ap.* Athen., 449 C.

³²⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 270.

³³⁰ Alexander Polyhistor *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.*, 13. 119, Alexander Cornelius arborem leonem (so codd. M. D.: eonem codd. *r. v.*) appellavit ex qua facta esset Argo, similem robori viscum ferenti, quæ neque aqua neque igni possit corrumpi, sicuti nec viscum, nulli alii cognitam, quod equidem sciam.

³³¹ On mistletoe as a means of extinguishing fire consult Plin. *nat. hist.*, 33.

94.

³³² *Folk-Lore*, xv., 270.

solar powers. The name "lion"-tree points in the same direction, for the lion was a common symbol of the sun.³³³ Again, Ptolemæus,³³⁴ who records the Rhodian version of the myth of Helen, *viz.*, that she was the daughter of the sun and hanged herself on an oak, mentions in the same context that she went by the name of *Λεοντή*, "Lioness." One of her suitors was called *Λεοντεύς*, "Lion,"³³⁵ so that once more we find the sun connected with the lion, and both of them with the oak. Further, there is reason to believe that in Rhodes the mistletoe stood in close relation to the sun. For, not only was there a cult of Mistletoe Apollo (*Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων*) at Ixiai, a Rhodian town named after the mistletoe;³³⁶ but Leonteus, the suitor of Helen was by some³³⁷ regarded as the father of Ixion, whose

³³³ See Preller-Robert, p. 455, Gruppe, p. 798 f. The former quotes from Clem. Alex., *protr.*, 47, p. 41 Potter, the statement that at Patara in Lycia the statues of Zeus and Apollo had lions set beside them. Cp. the rock-cut lion inscribed *Ἀπόλλωνι Σεφανηφόρῳ* in the precinct of Artemidorus at Thera (*Inscr. Græc.*, xii., 3 suppl. 295 f., no. 1346). The latter cites Ael. *de nat. an.*, 12. 7, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄγαν πυρῶδὲς ἐστι, οἶκον Ἥλιου φασὶν εἶναι*, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.*, 1. 720, Persæ in spelæis Solem colunt . . . est autem ipse Sol leonis vultu cum tiara Persico habitu et utrisque manibus bovis cornua comprimens, &c., Lyd. *de mens.*, 1. 22, *ὅτι ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων Διὸς καὶ Ἥλιου καὶ Σελήνης, Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἄρεος σύμβολα · καὶ Διὸς μὲν ἀετὸν, Ἥλιου δὲ λέοντα, Σελήνης δὲ βοῦν, Ἄρεος δὲ λύκον, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ δράκοντα*, Serv. *in Verg. Georg.*, 1. 33, sciendum deinde est voluisse maiores in his signis [xii] esse deorum domicilia : ut Solis est Leo, Lunæ vero Cancer. Add Macrob. *Sat.*, 1. 20. 12, capti indicaverunt apparuisse sibi leones proris Gaditanæ classis superstantes ac subito suas naves inmissis radiis, quales in Solis capite pinguntur, exustas, &c., 1. 21. 16, propterea Aegyptii animal in zodiaco consecraverunt ea cæli parte qua maxime annuo cursu sol valido effervet calore, Leonisque inibi signum domicilium solis appellant, quia id animal videtur ex natura solis substantiam ducere, &c. Other evidence is collected by Creuzer, *Symbolik*,⁸ iv., 85, cp. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii., 359 ff., Roscher *Lex.* iii. 253 ff., "Nergal als Gott der verzehrenden Sonnenglut und als Löwengott."

³³⁴ Ptolem. *nov. hist.*, 4, p. 189, Westermann.

³³⁵ Apollod., 3. 10. 8, Hyg. *fab.*, 81.

³³⁶ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰξίαι.

³³⁷ Hyg. *fab.*, 62.

name, as I have elsewhere³³⁸ pointed out, is an obvious derivative of the mistletoe (*Ἰξίωv* from *ἰξός*), and whose nature, as is commonly admitted,³³⁹ was that of a sun-god. Thus both mythology and ritual attest the connection between mistletoe, especially oak-mistletoe, and the sun.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

³³⁸ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 420.

³³⁹ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 770.



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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

III: THE ITALIANS.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE Latin language bears witness to an early animistic conception of the sky. For the common expression *sub divo*, "under the open sky," stands in an obvious relation to the doublets *divus* and *deus*, which are the ordinary terms for "god."¹ Of kindred origin were the names *Iu-piter* (with its variant forms *Dius*, *Diovis*, *Iovis*, etc.), *Dies-piter* (with *dies*, etc.), and certain others to be mentioned later.² This whole group of words springs ultimately from a root *div-*, meaning "to shine";³ and it is probable that *divum* originally denoted the sky as "bright," *divus* or *deus* a god who dwelt in the "bright" sky, *Iu-piter* the "Bright" One as "Father." The close interconnexion of the said words, satisfactorily demonstrated by modern philologists, was already appreciated in the first century B.C. by M. Terentius Varro, who writes in his great treatise *On the Latin Tongue*:⁴ "Jupiter

¹W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* p. 244.

²See Aust in W. H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* ii. 619 ff. for a collection of the facts, and K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, pp. 85, 88, 91, 95, 312, 358, 377, 445, 685 for their explanation.

³O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* p. 670.

⁴Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 Müller: hoc idem magis ostendit antiquius Iovis nomen; nam olim *Diovis* et *Diespiter* dictus, id est dies pater. a quo *dei* dicti qui inde, et *dius* et *divos*, unde *sub divo*, *Dius Fidius*. itaque inde eius perforatum tectum, ut ea videatur divom id est caelum; quidam negant sub tecto per hunc deierare oportere.

was formerly called *Diovis* and *Diespiter*, that is, the Day-Father. After him his children were called *dei*. Hence too the names *dius* and *divus*, which gave rise to the phrases *sub divo* and *Dius Fidius*. Consequently the roof of his temple has a hole in it so that the *divum* or sky may be seen. And certain persons affirm that no oath by this god¹ ought to be taken under cover of a roof." In the sequel Varro definitely identifies Jupiter with the sky,² as Ennius had done more than a century before him. Cicero³ quotes from the latter a couple of detached lines, which may be rendered—

"aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem."

Look at yonder Brilliance o'er us, whom the world invokes as Jove.

and—

"qui, quod in me est, execrabor hoc, quod lucet, quidquid est."

Wherefore with all my might I'll curse yon Light, whate'er it be.

There can be little doubt that in these passages the poet has caught and made permanent for us the religious thought of the Italians in the moment of its transition from an animistic to an anthropomorphic stage. Behind him lay the divine sky: in front stood the sky-god Jupiter.

As a bright sky-god Jupiter bore the title *Lucetius*, the "Light-bringer." Servius⁴ in his commentary on the *Aeneid* says: "In the Oscan language *Lucetius* means

¹ "This god" means *Dius Fidius*. Scaliger cited from Nonius Marcellus s.v. "rituis" a fragment of Varro's *Cato, a treatise on the education of children*, in which we read: "And so our domestic practice is that whoever wishes to swear by *Dius Fidius* is wont to step beneath the opening in the roof." Scaliger also compared Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 28, where we are told that boys who swore by *Hercules* were not allowed to do so under a roof, but had to go out of doors for the purpose.

² Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 67 Müller: quod Iovis Iuno coniux et is caelum.

³ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 and 65. See J. B. Mayor *ad locc.*

⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 9. 570 sane lingua Osca *Lucetius* est Iuppiter, dictus a luce, quam praestare dicitur hominibus. ipse est enim nostra lingua *Diespiter*, id est *diei pater*. A corruption of this appears in Mythogr. Vat. 3. 3. 1:

Jupiter, who is so called from the light (a *luce*) that he is believed to bring to men." Macrobius¹ observes: "We hold that Jupiter is the author of light (*lucis*), whence also the Salii sing of him in their songs as *Lucetius*." His remark is borne out by a scrap of Salian verse quoted in a Latin grammar² dating from the reign of Hadrian:

*When thou thunderest, Light-bringer (Leucesie),
before thee quail all men and gods
and the broad sea.*

A. Gellius³ in the second century of our era writes of Jupiter: "He was called *Diovis* and *Lucetius*, because he furnished us and helped us with day (*die*) and light (*luce*), as it were with life itself. Jupiter is termed *Lucetius* by Cn. Naevius in his *Punic War*." Paulus Diaconus,⁴ whose glossary goes back to an important work written by M. Verrius Flaccus in the reign of Augustus, similarly states that "*Lucetius* was a name once given to Jupiter because men believed him to be the cause of light (*lucis*)." Lastly, C. Marius Victorinus,⁵ a grammarian of the fourth century, has preserved the older form *Loucetius*.⁶ The Latin scholars who discuss the word *Lucetius* commonly couple with it a second

lingua Oschorum dictus a *luce*, quam hominibus praestare putatur, Iuppiter *Lucceius*, a Latinis vero *Diespiter*, id est *diei pater* vocatur. A different corruption is found in a gloss cited by J. J. Pontanus (*ad* Macrob. *Sat.* i. 15. 14): *Lucerius*, *Zeús*, and in another cited by Fulvius Ursinus (*ad* Paul. *exc.* Fest. 10. s.v. "Lucetium"): *Λουκέριος Ζεύς*.

¹ Macr. *Sat.* i. 15. 14.

² Terent. Scaur. *de orthogr.* p. 2261 Putsch=Grammatici Latini vii. 11, 28 Keil. Bährens (*Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 29) prints the lines thus:

quomé tonás, Leucésie,
prae téd tremónti quót | ibét hemúnis, déui,
conctúm maré.

³ Gell. 5. 12. 6 f.

⁴ Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 85 Lindemann.

⁵ Victorin. p. 2459 Putsch=Grammatici Latini vi. 12, 18 Keil: inde scriptum legitis *Loucetios* nountios [et] lounen et cetera.

⁶ See further *infra* p. 320.

title of like significance, viz. *Diespiter*, "Day-Father." On a Praenestine *cista*¹ of the fifth or sixth century B.C. a bearded male figure standing next to Juno (*Iuno*) is called *Diespiter* (*Diesptr*); and thenceforward the name is used by Latin authors as a synonym of *Iupiter*.² As Jupiter was *Lucetius*, so his consort Juno was *Lucetia* or *Lucina*.³ In their capacity of light-god and light-goddess they not only brought daylight to men, but also controlled the changes of the moon. The Ides of all the months, i.e. the days of the full moon, were sacred to Jupiter; the Kalends, i.e. the days of the new moon, to Juno.⁴ And the day on which the full moon occurred was known as "the Pledge of Jupiter" (*Iovis fiducia*),⁵ because the night being as bright as day gave as it were a promise of day's renewal.

From Jupiter as sky-god to Jupiter as weather-god was not a far cry. For the old popular phrase *sub divo*, "under the open sky," poets of the Augustan age wrote

¹ *Monumenti dall' Inst.* vi. pl. 54, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1861 p. 151 ff.

² So in an old formula *ap.* Liv. i. 24. 8 (with variants *dies Iuppiter*, *Diesiuppiter*, etc.), also in Plaut. *capt.* 909, *Poen.* 740, 869, Hor. *od.* i. 34. 5, 3. 2. 29, and often in post-Augustan writers. Seneca (*ludus de morte Claudii* 9. 4) distinguishes *Diespiter* from Jupiter and describes him as "the son of Vica Pota." This goddess, whose name was by some thought to signify conquest and possession (Cic. *de legg.* 2. 28 *vincendi . . . potiundi*), by others eating and drinking (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 25 *Vita et Potua*, cp. Varro *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 *Potina . . . Educa* and *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 108 *Merc. Edusae . . . Potinae*), was perhaps an Italian *Δέσπονα* (? **Vici-pota* cp. **δεσπο-πότης*). If so, her son, like the offspring of Zeus and Persephone (Clem. Alex. *protr.* 2. 16 p. 14 *Potter*, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f.), would be chthonian in character. Should we therefore restore *Dis pater* for *Diespiter* in Senec. *lud.* 9. 4? The two names were liable to confusion: see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* v. 479.

³ Mart. Cap. 2. 149. See further Roscher *Lex.* ii. 578 ff.

⁴ Macrobi. i. 9. 16, i. 15. 14 ff., Ov. *fast.* i. 55 f., Auson. *ecl.* 12. 1 f., Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 24, Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 47, 6 ff. Wünsch.

⁵ Macrobi. i. 15. 15. The ritual of the Ides is described by W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* pp. 120, 157, 198, 215, 241, G. Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer* pp. 101, 103, 444 n. 3.

sub Iove, "under Jupiter," thus blending the animistic with the anthropomorphic conception of the sky. Ovid says of the early Arcadians :

*'Neath Jupiter they would endure, and bare of limb they went,
To face the downpour of the sky or blustering South content.*¹

So of the Romans at the festival of Anna Perenna :

*Some must endure 'neath Jupiter, and some must pitch a booth.*²

Demeter in search of Persephone—

*Steadfast 'neath Jupiter endured for many a weary day,
And patient marked the moonlight fall or rain-storm on its way.*³

While of Clytie, who fell in love with the Sun, we read :

*'Neath Jupiter by night and day she sat upon the ground.*⁴

The same author elsewhere tells how Juno was jealous of—

*The nymphs who 'neath her Jupiter lay on the mountain-side.*⁵

Horace too can write :

*The hunter still 'neath freezing Jupiter
Must tarry heedless of his loving wife.*⁶

Such expressions, however illogical, had a certain poetic value. So had the rhetorical, though sometimes far-fetched, use of the word *Iupiter* to denote "the sky" or "the weather." The author of the poem *Aetna*,⁷ wrongly ascribed to Virgil, writes :

*"quamvis caeruleo siccus Iove fulgeat aether."
Though the dry air should shine with sky-blue Jove.*

¹ *Ov. fast.* 2. 299 f.

² *Ov. fast.* 3. 527.

³ *Ov. fast.* 4. 505 f.

⁴ *Ov. met.* 4. 260.

⁵ *Ov. met.* 3. 363.

⁶ *Hor. od.* 1. 1. 25 f. *Cp. Stat. Theb.* 2. 403 ff. *te iam tempus aperto | sub Iove ferre dies terrenaue frigora membris | ducere*, *Claud. cons. Prob. et Olyb.* 36 f. *gelido si quem Maeotica pascit | sub Iove*, *Avien. Aratea prognost.* 405 ff. *sed quum tranquillo tenduntur crassa serena | sub Iove, venturae praenoscer signa procellae | convenit.*

⁷ *Aetna* 331.

Horace ridicules the satirist M. Furius Bibaculus for his line—

“Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpes.”

*Jove on the wintry Alps spits the white snow.*¹

But Horace himself in describing an inclement climate speaks of “clouds and a sorry Jupiter.”² Virgil in his *Georgics* has :

*For ripe grapes you may well dread Jupiter.*³

Again he calls a rainy atmosphere, “Jupiter wet with South winds,” or “Jupiter shivering with South winds,”⁴ and in a famous passage concerning the spring-time says :

Then the almighty Father of the sky

Into the bosom of his joyous bride

*With fostering showers falls.*⁵

Petronius, not unmindful of his Virgil, in a list of portents includes the following :

*Sudden fell Jupiter in a shower of blood.*⁶

This in turn was imitated by Claudian, who in the course of a similar list writes :

*Jupiter, threatening, flushed with a cloud of blood.*⁷

¹ Hor. *sat.* 2. 5. 41, with Porphyrio, Acro, and schol. Cruq. *ad loc.* : see Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 319. The demerit of Furius' unlucky line (which is quoted by Quint. *inst. orat.* 8. 6. 17) of course lies in the metaphor *conspuit*, not in the metonymy *Iuppiter*.

² Hor. *od.* 1. 22. 19 f. Cp. Stat. *Theb.* 10. 373 f. sic ubi nocturnum tonitru malus aethera frangit | Iuppiter, absiliunt nubes.

³ Verg. *georg.* 2. 419, et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis. Serv. *ad loc.* interprets: *aer*, more suo, cuius varietas plerumque laborem decipit rusticorum.

⁴ Verg. *georg.* 1. 418, Iuppiter uvidus austris, *Aen.* 9. 670 Iuppiter horridus austris, cp. Serv. *ad locc.* Iuppiter : *aer*. I suspect that the phrase “Iuppiter horridus” was suggested to the poet's mind by the phrase “Iuppiter *uvis*” : see *Class. Rev.* xvi. 146 ff., 256 ff.

⁵ Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 f.

⁶ Petron. *sat.* 122 sanguineoque recens descendit Iuppiter imbre (*v. l.* igne).

⁷ Claud. *in Eutrop.* 1. 4 f. nimboque minacem | sanguineo rubuisse Iovem. Claud. *de bell. Get.* 378 f. vel qualis in atram | sollicitus nubem maesto Iove cogitur aether may be a reminiscence of the passage from Horace already cited.

Valerius Flaccus and Statius, in describing a storm at sea, both speak of "wintry Jupiter":¹ the latter also of "cloudy Jupiter."² Martial has not only "the shower of Jove," but also "the rains and soaking Jove."³ And, finally, in a line of Juvenal we hear of:

*The vernal Jupiter hissing with pitiless hail.*⁴

The prose writers, even in the silver age of Latin literature, refrain from such venturesome expressions, though Arnobius makes the defenders of the old mythology interpret Jupiter as "the rain,"⁵ and Augustine mentions that Jupiter was sometimes identified with "the sky."⁶

But the conception of Jupiter as a weather-god was by no means confined to men of letters. As the Greeks had their Poseidon or "Zeus-in-the-rain-water" (Ποσειδάων),⁷ so the Italians recognized a watery Jupiter. Tibullus says of Egypt:

*The parched grass kneels not to a Rainy Jove.*⁸

¹ Val. Flacc. 3. 577 ff. *ceu pectora nautis | congelat hiberni vultus Iovis agricolisve, | cum coit umbra minax*, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 26 f. *cum fragor hiberni subitus Iovis, omnia mundi | claustra tonant*. With the latter passage cp. Stat. *Theb.* 2. 153 ff. *quibus ipse per imbres | fulminibus mixtos intempestumque Tonantem | has meus usque domus vestigia fecit Apollo*.

² Stat. *Theb.* 12. 650 f. *qualis Hyperboreos ubi nubibus institit axes | Iuppiter*. Cp. *ib.* 8. 423 f. *ut ventis nimisque minax cum solvit habenas | Iuppiter*.

³ Mart. 9. 18. 8 *Iovis imber*, 7. 36. 1 *pluvias madidumque Iovem*.

⁴ Juv. 5. 78 f. *fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus | Iuppiter*.

⁵ Arnob. 5. 32 itaque qui dicit: *cum sua concubuit Iuppiter matre . . . Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cererem nominat. et qui rursus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse cum filia . . . pro imbris nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significatione sementem*.

⁶ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 16 et *mundus enim totus Iuppiter, et solum caelum Iuppiter, et sola stella Iuppiter habetur et dicitur*.

⁷ *Folk-lore* xv. 280.

⁸ Tib. 1. 7. 26 *arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi*. Senec. *nat. quaest.* 4. 2. 2 wrongly ascribes the line to Ovid.

Statius makes Adrastus pray to Hypsipyle—

*In place of Winds and Rainy Jupiter.*¹

And a poet in the *Latin Anthology*, describing the month of December, writes :

*All things reek of Rainy Jove.*²

At Naples was found the following inscription :

IOVI | PLUVIA li
*To Jupiter of the Rain.*³

Similarly Jupiter was known as *Imbricator*, "the Showerer."⁴ The bearded head of Jupiter on a denarius of L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (consul in 49 B.C.) is, according to some numismatists, intended for a likeness of Jupiter *Pluvius*.⁵ Far more convincing is the representation of this god still to be seen on the Antonine Column at Rome.⁶ It will be remembered that the army of M. Aurelius was rescued from the surrounding Quadi by the interposition of a god, who refreshed the fainting legionaries with a down-pour of rain, while he blasted their opponents with hail and thunderbolts.⁷ This god, in whom all modern scholars have seen Jupiter Pluvius,⁸ appears in the bas-relief as a bearded man with outstretched wings and arms ;⁹ rain

¹ Stat. *Theb.* 4. 758 f. tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove.

² *Anth. Lat.* 395. 46 Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.

³ H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 3043 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix. 324.

⁴ Apul. *de mundo* 37 dicitur . . . etiam Imbricator.

⁵ So E. Babelon *Monnaies de la République Romaine* i. 426, no. 66, after Eckhel *Doctrina numorum veterum* ii. 514. See, however, for other interpretations A. Morell *Thesaurus* p. 120 f., pl. 3, 6 Cornelia.

⁶ P. S. Bartoli and J. P. Bellori *Columna Antoniniana* pl. 15.

⁷ Dio Cass. 71. 8 ff., Oros. 7. 15. 7 ff., *alib.*

⁸ The identification is confirmed by the analogy of Trajan's Column, which similarly shows Jupiter in defence of the Romans hurling his thunderbolt at the Dacians: cp. V. Duruy *Hist. of Rome* iv. 767 with v. 195.

⁹ S. Reinach *Répertoire de la Statuaire* ii. 172, 7 shows a bronze figure of a nude bearded man with outstretched wings and arms, who has also small wings on his feet and is represented as flying through the air. Reinach suggests, though with a query, that he is an Orphic deity. May he not rather be Jupiter Pluvius?—unless indeed he is Dædalus.

pours in torrents from him and is collected by the Roman soldiers in their bucklers, while the barbarians lie on the ground struck by lightning. The cult of Jupiter as a rain-god can be traced back to a remote antiquity. Petronius¹ says: "Formerly the women wearing stoles used to go bare-foot to the Capitol, with dishevelled hair but pure hearts, and would implore Jupiter for water. Presto! it came down in bucketsful. *Now or never* was the word: and they all got home like drowned rats!" Tertullian² refers to the same rite: "Since summer and winter depend on the rains and the seasons must be considered . . . you offer water-charms (*aquilicia*) to Jupiter, you proclaim bare-foot processions (*nudipedalia*) to the populace, you seek your sky on the Capitol and look for clouds from the ceiling, turning your backs upon the true God and the true Heaven." Some further details of the ceremony are known.³ "The water-charm (*aqua-elicium*)," says Paulus Diaconus,⁴ "is the name given to certain means of extracting rain-water (*quum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur*), for instance, if we may believe it, to the old custom of drawing the streaming-stone (*manali lapide*) into the City." Varro,⁵ too, has a word on the subject: "We call a small-sized pitcher a water-jug (*aquae manale*) because by means of it water is poured into the basin. Hence the streaming-stone (*manalis lapis*) of the priestly ceremonies, which is moved when rains are required, gets its name. Again, we all know that in very ancient times men spoke of the streaming-rite (*manale sacrum*): this explains its name." These passages make it probable that the stone, which may have been a baetyl

¹ Petr. *sat.* 44.

² Tert. *apol.* 40.

³ The sources and literature are cited *e.g.* by Wissowa in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2308 f. and Pauly-Wissowa ii. 310.

⁴ Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 95 Lindemann.

⁵ Varr. *de vita populi Romani* lib. I *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 547 Merc.

of Jupiter, was taken by the priests¹ in procession up the Capitoline Hill, and solemnly drenched with water as a magical or quasi-magical cure for drought. The stone normally stood outside the Porta Capena, near the temple of Mars;² but, for reasons which will subsequently appear,³ this circumstance does not militate against its connexion with Jupiter.

It has been plausibly maintained⁴ that the Jupiter worshipped when the rain was charmed forth (*elicitur*) was Jupiter *Elicius*, who had an altar on the Aventine.⁵ If so, it may have been thought that Jupiter himself came down in the form of a shower—a conception voiced by Virgil in a passage already quoted.⁶ But Jupiter *Elicius* was a thunder-god as well as a rain-god; for it was he who, when the people was panic-stricken by continual lightnings and rain, showed King Numa how the storms might be stayed,⁷ and at a later date slew with a thunderbolt Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius.⁸ We have, therefore, also to reckon with the belief that Jupiter might fall as a lightning-flash or a thunderbolt,⁹ appropriate manifestations

¹ So Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 175.

² Paul *exc. Fest.* p. 95 Lindemann.

³ *Infra* p. 320 f.

⁴ By O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom* ii. 154 and E. Aust in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 656 ff.

⁵ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 94 sic Elicii Iovis ara in Aventino ab eliciendo, cp. Liv. 1. 20. 7 ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit (sc. Numa), Ov. *fast.* 3. 327 ff. eliciunt caelo te, Iuppiter. unde minores | nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant. | constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae, | terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis, Valerius Antias *ap. Arnob. adv. nat.* 5. 1 accepta regem (sc. Numam) scientia rem in Aventino fecisse divinam, elaxisse ad terras Iovem.

⁶ Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 f., quoted on p. 265.

⁷ Ov. *fast.* 3. 285 ff., Plut. *vit. Num.* 15, *alib.*

⁸ Liv. 1. 31. 8, Aur. Vict. *de viris illustr.* 4. 4, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 140 and 28. 14.

⁹ See the passages collected by P. Burmann senior in his *Zeus Karaßάρης sive Jupiter Fulgurator, in Cyrrhestarum nummis.* Leidæ 1734.

of a god who originally represented the bright aspect of the sky. More than one extant inscription¹ records the due burial of a "bright" or "divine lightning-flash," as though it were a thing instinct with mysterious life. Such flashes occurring by day were regarded as exhibitions of Jupiter Fulgur,² *i.e.* Jupiter identified with his own flash. According to Vitruvius,³ "Hypaethral buildings will be erected under the clear sky (*sub diu*) to Jupiter the Lightning (*Iovi Fulguri*), to Caelus, to Sol, and to Luna; for we see the forms and effects of these divinities before our eyes in the open and shining vault of heaven." One such building or precinct dedicated to Jupiter Fulgur stood in the Campus Martius at Rome.⁴ Jupiter is further identified with the thunderbolt in an inscription⁵ found near Vienna, which reads:

IOVI • FVLGVRI • FVLMINI

To Jupiter the Lightning and the Thunderbolt:

perhaps also in dedications⁶ to Jupiter Flagius, Flazius, or Flazzus, *i.e.* the "Flashing" Jupiter.

A later stage of religious thought is marked by another dedication⁷ from Anguillara on the Lago di Bracciano:

SACR • IOVI • TONANTI • FVLMINANTI

Sacred to Jupiter who sends the Thunder and the Thunderbolt.—

for here the god is more plainly anthropomorphic.

¹ H. Dessau *inscripciones Latinae selectae* 3054 fulgur dium (inscribed on a coffer built of stones on the Esquiline), 3055 fulgur divom conditum (found at Nîmes), cp. G. Wilmanns *exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* 2734, 2735.

² Fest. p. 201 Lindemann, where with Müller p. 229 we should read *Iovi Fulguri*.

³ Vit. i. 2. 5.

⁴ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 656, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 239.

⁵ Dessau 3053, cp. 3049, 3052.

⁶ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 114 f. no. 108 ekas iuvilas iuvei flagiui stahint = hae iovilae Iovi Flagio stent; Dessau 3852 Ióvi Flazzo votum . . . Iovi Flazio votum. C. D. Buck *Oscan and Umbrian Gram.* p. 248 f. connects *Flagius* with *flagro, fulgur*, etc.

⁷ Dessau 3047.

Finally he is called Fulgurator, Fulminator, etc.,¹ "the Hurler of the Lightning and Thunderbolt," and represented on innumerable works of art as a male figure holding or launching his weapon.² The Romans, following the lead of the Etruscans, distinguished three kinds of thunderbolt hurled by Jupiter:³ but these are subtleties into which we need not dip.

The rain-storm goes to swell the streams or pools; and it is interesting to find that Juturna, an ancient Latin goddess of "lakes and sounding rivers,"⁴ bore a name akin to that of Jupiter.⁵ Moreover, Virgil and Ovid make Juturna beloved by Jupiter, who rewarded her with sovereignty over the waters.⁶ It should also be noticed on the one hand that Juturna was the name of a spring close to the river Numicius in Latium,⁷ on the other that there was a famous cult of Jupiter Indiges on the bank of the same river.⁸ The inscription on the sanctuary of Jupiter Indiges spoke of him as "presiding over the stream of the river Numicius."⁹ At Rome too Juturna may have been associated with Jupiter; for at the bottom of her well was

¹ *E.g.* Apul. *de mund.* 37 dicitur et Fulgurator et Tonitrualis et Fulminator, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 23 ubinam Fulminator tempore illo fuit? and the inscriptions cited in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 751.

² Roscher *Lex.* ii. 754 ff.

³ Sen. *nat. quaest.* 2. 41, Fest. p. 167 Lindemann, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* i. 42.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 139.

⁵ Corssen *Beitr. z. ital. Sprachenk.* p. 357 derives *Diuturna* (Roscher *Lex.* i. 762) or *Iuturna*, like *Diovis* or *Iovis*, from the root *div-*: cp. *supra* p. 260.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 138 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 585 ff.

⁷ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 12. 139. So sacred was this spring that, if Servius is to be trusted, water from it was brought to Rome for all sacrifices: Servius, however, or his authority was probably confusing it with the spring of Juturna in the Roman Forum.

⁸ Liv. i. 2. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 56, *alib.*

⁹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* i. 64.

found an altar representing on its four sides the Dioscuri, Leda, Jupiter, and Lucifera.¹

Of Jupiter as a sea-god there are but scanty traces. At Beneventum is a dedication²—

IOVI · TVTATORI · MARIS
To Jupiter who makes the Sea safe.

Claudian calls Neptune “the watery Jupiter”³ and even “our Jupiter”:⁴ but it is probable that he is using *Iupiter* merely in the sense of “a sovereign deity.” Other evidence will be considered later.⁵

Jupiter was identified with the sun by late writers⁶ and inscriptions:⁷ but there is no reason to think that this identification was old.⁸ The “Bright” One denoted rather, for the early Romans at least,⁹ the whole hemisphere of daylight. Nevertheless, with the apparent motion of the

¹ E. Burton-Brown *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum* p. 14 f., M. F. Hoffbauer et H. Thédénat *Le Forum Romain*, p. 68.

² Dessau 3027.

³ Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 282 Iovis aequorei submersam fluctibus aulam.

⁴ Claud. *de nupt. Hon. et Mar.* 174 ff. dic talia nunquam | promeruisse Thetin, nec cum soror Amphitrite | nostro nupta Iovi.

⁵ *Infra* p. 264 f. The sculptor Heniochus carved a group representing “Oceanus et Iuppiter” (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 33).

⁶ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30, Macrobi. 1. 23. 1 ff., Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 47, 8, 10 f.

⁷ *E.g.* Dessau 4320, cp. 4319.

⁸ Against the solar character of Jupiter Anxurus see Preller-Jordan *Römische Mythologie* i. 268, n. 1, Wissowa *Religion und Kultur der Römer* p. 232 f.

⁹ The bronze discs or wheels (*aenei orbes*) dedicated by the Romans to Semo Sancus (*i.e.* to Dius Fidius) out of the spoils of Privernum (Liv. 8. 20. 8) were perhaps solar symbols. At Iguvium the man who swore by Jupater Sancius held a similar wheel (*urfeta=orbita*) in his hand (Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 121, n. 6). Cakes called *summanalia* and presumably sacred to Summanus, the nightly Jupiter, were made in the shape of a wheel (Fest. p. 267 Lindemann). The wheel was also a common symbol on the coinage of ancient Italy (A. Sambon *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, pp. 41, 46, 58, 66, 170, etc.), though its connection with Jupiter is quite uncertain.

heavens, the bright sky sank beneath the horizon at nightfall; and as Jupiter was the god of the sky by day, so Summanus or Jupiter Summanus¹ was the god of the sky by night.² Hence the Italians, like the Greeks, came to conceive of a subterranean Jupiter. They named him *Vediovis*, *Vedius*, or *Veiovis*, and regarded him as in some sort an anti-Jove. Thus on the summit of the Alban Mount there was a cult of Jupiter Latiaris,³ in Bovillae at its base a cult of Vediovis:⁴ on the Capitol at Rome Jupiter Feretrius was worshipped,⁵ in the hollow of the same hill Vediovis.⁶ The chthonian character of the latter deity is well attested. The ancient formula of devotion used by dictators and generals was addressed to *Dis pater*, *Veiovis*, *Manes*,⁷ i.e. to a group of chthonian powers. A law, attributed to Romulus, ordained that a patron or client who neglected his duties "might be put to death by any man, as a victim devoted to the chthonian Jupiter,"⁸ i.e. to Vediovis.⁹ And Martianus Capella expressly identifies Vediovis with Pluto and Dis.¹⁰ There was, then, an early cult of a chthonian Jupiter, which justified the poets in calling the underground god Jupiter *Stygius*,¹¹ *Tartareus*,¹² *infernus*,¹³ *niger*,¹⁴ etc.¹⁵

¹ Dessau 3057, 3058.

² Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 124.

³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 686 ff.

⁴ Dessau 2988.

⁵ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 670 ff.

⁶ Preller-Jordan i. 264 ff., Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 191.

⁷ Macr. *Sat.* 3. 9. 10.

⁸ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2.10.

⁹ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 190.

¹⁰ Mart. *Cap.* 2. 166 Pluton quem etiam Ditem Veiovemque dixere. Wissowa *cp. Mythogr. Vat.* iii. 6. 1.

¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638, *Ov. fast.* 5. 448, Sil. 1. 386, Aus. *id.* 12 *grammaticomastix* 16, *carmin. Verg.* 379 in Bährens *Poetae Latini minores* iv. 234, Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* i. 258 no. 540. 5, Arnob. 2. 70, 3. 31, *Corp. inscrr. Lat.* ix. 5350.

¹² Val. Flacc. 1. 730, Sil. 2. 674.

¹³ Sen. *Herc. fur.* 47, cp. Prudent *c. Symmach.* 1. 388 Iovis Infernalis.

¹⁴ Sil. 8. 116, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 49.

¹⁵ J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum* p. 33 cites Aus. *epitaph.* 33. 8 Iovis Elysii, Sen. *Herc. fur.* 612 diro . . . Iovi, [Damasus] *epigr.* 78. 4 funereo . . . Iovi.

Jupiter, in short, like Zeus,¹ appears not only as a sky-god, but also as a water-god and an earth-god. As Ovid² puts it,—

Jupiter

Rules heaven's height and the realms o' the threefold world.

Several extant works of art represent him in this triple capacity. A chalcedony scarab of Etruscan workmanship, formerly in the Dehn collection,³ shows a naked male deity with a *himation* over his left arm in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, a trident in his left; while at his feet is a dog. We can hardly be mistaken in regarding this singular figure as Jupiter in his threefold rôle: the thunderbolt marks him as a sky-god, the trident as a water-god, the dog (Cerberus?) and the chariot as an earth-god.⁴ Again, at Albano was found a broken bas-relief of archaistic style thus described by Brunn:⁵ "The central figure is a god, bearded and crowned, who by the attributes of a thunderbolt and a trident on his right, and a cornucopia surmounted by an eagle on his left side is shown to be Jupiter conceived as lord of the sky, the sea, and the underworld." Similarly a tile found at Urbisaglia in Picenum⁶ depicts *Iove Iutor*, "Jupiter the Helper," clad in

¹ *Folk-lore*, xv. 265-282.

² *Ov. met.* 15. 858 f. *Iupiter arces | temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis.*

³ I have figured the gem in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 fig. 1 after J. Overbeck *Griechische Kunstmythologie* Zeus Gemmentaf. 3, 7; cp. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* ³ iii. 1 pl. 6, 27, A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* pl. 18, 6.

⁴ So Panofka ("Über verlegene Mythen" in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1839 p. 35, pl. 1, 5) and Welcker (*Griechische Götterlehre* i. 162, n. 5), who call the god Zeus Triopas. Creuzer (*Symbolik* ³ iii. 204) and Overbeck (*Kunstmythologie*, Zeus, p. 259) take the same view—"ein Zeus als Herrscher in den drei Reichen." Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemm.* ii. 87) thinks that the animal at the feet of the god is not a dog but "ein kleiner Seedrache."

⁵ *Bullettino dell' Istituto* 1861 p. 86.

⁶ I have reproduced this interesting *tegula mammata* in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 374 fig. 6 after J. Schmidt (*Monumenti dell' Istituto Arch.* xi. pl 17, 1).

a purple cloak: he is armed with a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. The title *Iutor* and certain black strokes, which have been taken to denote an architectural cornice,¹ show that we have here to do with an actual cult. It is obviously that of the triple Jupiter: the thunderbolt belongs to him as a sky-god; the trident and dolphin as a sea-god; the fork as an earth-god. Lastly, it is significant that Vediovis, the chthonian Jupiter, is represented on coins of the Roman *gentes* with a thunderbolt² or a trident:³ in other words, the earth-god has the attributes of the sky-god and the sea-god. We might almost say with the author of the *Asclepius*:⁴ "Jupiter Plutonium is lord alike of land and sea."

In dealing with the Greeks I⁵ showed that superhuman power was at first expressed by various grotesque or monstrous forms with a plurality of heads, arms, legs, etc.; that a convenient substitute for this plurality, and one strictly in accordance with primitive thought, was found in a three-bodied or three-headed or three-eyed shape; and that another such suggestion of manifold activity was conveyed by double or Janiform figures. For example, Argus, the Argive Zeus, had a hundred eyes, or else had three eyes, or else had a Janiform head.⁶ We have next to see whether the multiple, the triple, and the dual types of divinity are equally applicable to Jupiter.

It may be at once admitted that they are not. On the contrary, there are very few traces indeed of abnormal

¹ *Annali dell' Instituto Arch.* lii. 63.

² E. Babelon *Monnaies de la République romaine* i. 281, 506 ff., 532, ii. 8, 133, 266.

³ *Ib.* ii. 6, 8.

⁴ [Apul.] *Ascl.* 27 terrae vero et mari dominatur Iupiter Plutonium, et hic nutritor est animantium mortalium et fructiferarum.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xv. 282 ff.

⁶ *Ib.* 287 ff.

Jupiters. Augustine¹ speaks of a Jupiter *Centumpeda*, "the Hundred-footed," and explains the title as denoting ability to establish things or set them on foot (*stabiliendi*). Rather it was a survival from the grotesque or monstrous stage of Jupiter worship. Of the triple Jupiter there is not a trace on Italian soil; though the Sicilians, as I have argued elsewhere,² had in their three-eyed Cyclops a real parallel to the three-eyed Zeus of Argos. One or two Janiform Jupiters exist: there is a double bust of the god in the Palazzo Spada at Rome;³ and a coin of Geta exhibits a double-headed Jupiter (perhaps Jupiter Quirinus⁴) holding a spear in his right hand, a thunderbolt in his left.⁵ But such representations may be, after all, only late accommodations to the well-known type of Janus.⁶ In general, the Italian conception of Jupiter was singularly free from distortion or deformity.

At this point, however, it must be remembered that Janus was in all probability only the older form of Jupiter.⁷ Corssen⁸ and other philologists have proved that, from the etymological point of view, the following pairs of deities should be equated:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Zeús (Ζᾱν) and Διῶνη.} \\ \text{Dianus (Janus) and Diana (Jana).} \\ \text{Jupiter and Juno.} \end{array} \right.$$

¹ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem) Victorem, Invictum, Opitulum, Impulsorem, Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem, Tigillum, Almus, Ruminum et alia quae persequi longum est.

² *Class. Rev.* xviii. 325 ff.

³ Figured in E. Braun *Antiken Marmorwerken* I Dekade Taf. 3a, 3b; cp. Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* Zeus p. 91 f.

⁴ *Infra* p. 281.

⁵ Figured, after Braun, in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 367, fig. 2; cp. Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* Zeus p. 92.

⁶ The influence of Janus on Jupiter may also be traced in the matter of epithets: the titles *Patulcius* and *matutinus* as applied to Jupiter (De-Vit *Lex. s.vv.*) are cases in point. Orelli 1242 *Gemino Iovi o. m.* is of doubtful meaning and authenticity.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 367 f.

⁸ Corssen *Über Aussprache, Vocalismus u. Betonung d. lat. Sprache* 2 i. 212, *Beitr. z. ital. Sprachkunde* p. 350 ff.

All these are ultimately connected with the root *div-*, which meant "to shine."¹ Several titles of Janus recall those of Jupiter. Thus the oldest hymns of the Salii saluted him as "deorum deus,"² and he was often invoked as *Ianus pater* or *Ianuspater*.³ Conversely Jupiter was actually surnamed Janus; for an inscription from Aquileia records a dedication *Iovi Diano*.⁴ Again, according to one version Janus, not Jupiter, was the mate of Juturna;⁵ and the title Janus Junonius implies a similar relation to Juno.⁶ On certain occasions joint offerings were made to Janus and Jupiter, or to Janus and Juno, or to Janus and Jupiter and Juno.⁷ Janus alone took precedence of Jupiter in the divine hierarchy;⁸ and the *rex sacrorum* or priestly king at Rome, who seems to have been in a sense his special ministrant, took similar precedence of the *flamen Dialis* or priest of Jupiter.⁹ These facts

¹ *Supra* p. 260. Corssen *loc. cit.* wrongly derived the group from the root *div-* of *dividere*, *divisio*. Its connexion with *dīus*, *dium*, "the shining sky," was already grasped by Buttmann *Mythologus* ii. 72, Schweigler *Römische Geschichte* i. 218 f., Preller *Römische Mythologie*³ i. 168. Indeed, P. Nigidius Figulus, a Pythagorean of the first century B.C., long since declared that Janus was a sun-god and Diana (Jana) his partner (Macrobian *Sat.* i. 9. 8), while the opinion that he was a sky-god of some sort was very general in antiquity (see Roscher *Lex.* ii. 44).

² Macrobian *Sat.* i. 9. 14, 16. Varro *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 quotes a Salian line in which the phrase "divom deo" occurs. He has also (*ib.* 26) preserved five lines of a Salian hymn which, if we could be sure of the reading *o Zeu* (Lindsay *Latin Language* p. 5), would prove that the Salii identified Janus with Zeus. Proclus certainly did so at a later date: *hymn.* 6. 3, 15 χαῖρ' Ἰανὲ πρόπατορ, Ζεὺ ἀφθιτε, χαῖρ' ὕπαρ Ζεὺ.

³ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 nn. 3, 4. ⁴ *Corp. inscr.* Lat. v. 783.

⁵ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29.

⁶ Macrobian *Sat.* i. 9. 15 f., i. 15. 19, Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 63, 13 Wünsch, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 nn. 7, 8, 9. Cp. Plaut. *cist.* 519 f.

⁸ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 67, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29, Macrobian *Sat.* i. 9. 9. For examples see Liv. 8. 9. 6, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, 141, Dessau 5047 f.

⁹ Preller-Jordan i. 64, Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 20, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 43. See also Dict. Ant. s.v. "Agonalia."

are best explained by the assumption that Janus was the name under which Jupiter was worshipped by the earliest population of Rome (Pelasgian Aborigines?¹); and that, when this early folk was conquered by the incoming Italians, its ancient deity Janus and his consort Diana (Jana) were retained side by side with the Italian Jupiter and Juno. Herodian² calls Janus "the oldest god native to the country of Italy"; Labeo³ says that he was termed "*Patricius* in the sense of an autochthon"; and Septimius Serenus⁴ addresses him in the following verse—

"tibi vetus ara caluit Aborigineo sacello."

For thee the ancient altar burned in Aboriginal shrine.

Now, if Jupiter did not conform to the multiple, triple, and dual types of divinity, Janus did. An ancient image of Janus with four faces was brought from Falerii to Rome and set up in the Forum Transitorium. Hence he was called *quadrifrons*, *quadriformis*, τετράμορφος.⁵ On a common middle-brass of Hadrian he is portrayed with three faces:⁶ he stands looking towards us, a bearded figure with one hand resting on his hip and the other holding a sceptre, while his three visages are distinctly

¹ See W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* i. 254 ff., who concludes that "the two main elements in the population of early Rome were the aboriginal Ligurians, who formed the Plebs, and the Umbrian Sabines, who formed the aristocracy." The statements of Dionysius cited by Prof. Ridgeway in support of his contention are, however, as Prof. J. S. Reid informs me, viewed with much suspicion by all modern critical historians. For my present purpose, it makes no difference whether the early inhabitants of Rome were called Aborigines or not. I only postulate that there was an early population of some sort and that its chief deity was Janus, not Jupiter.

² Herodian *hist.* i. 49. ³ Labeo *ap.* Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 63, 12 Wünsch.

⁴ Bährens *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 387.

⁵ Macrobian *Sat.* i. 9. 13, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8, Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 64, 4 ff. Wünsch, Suid. s.v. Ἰανováπιος, Codinus *de orig. Constantinopolit.* p. 13.

⁶ Cohen *Descr. des monn. imp.* 2 ii. 129, nos. 281, 282; figured in Mont-faucon *Ant. expl.* i. pl. 5, 19. R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 takes this to be Janus Quadrifrons with his fourth face concealed.

seen, one full-face, the other two in profile. The existence of a triple Janus is further supported by the fact that his consort Diana or Jana was likewise *triceps*, *triformis*, *triplex*, *tergemma*.¹ The usual type of Janus was, however, two-headed, or rather two-faced; and his customary epithets are *biceps*, *biformis*, *bifrons*, *geminus*.² It would seem, therefore, that in Italy, as in Greece, the sky-god was at an early date conceived as of manifold, threefold, and twofold formation; though, so far as we know, no attempt was here made to equate the three faces of the god with the three provinces of nature over which he ruled.³

Jupiter, like Zeus, had the oak as his sacred tree.⁴ And probably for the same reason, *viz.* that it was the world-tree of southern Europe.⁵ This indeed must remain a mere conjecture since no description of an Italian world-tree has come down to us;⁶ but it may stand till a more convincing explanation is forthcoming. Many

¹ Ov. *met.* 7. 194 *triceps* Hecate: Hor. *od.* 3. 22. 4 *diva triformis*, *alib.*: Ov. *her.* 12. 79 *triplicis vultus*... *Dianae*, *alib.*: Verg. *Aen.* 4. 511 *tergeminamque* Hecaten, *tria virginis ora Dianae*.

² See De-Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 474 f.

³ *Folk-lore* xv. 290 f.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 3 *arborum genera numinibus suis dicata perpetuo servantur*, ut Iovi *aesculus*, Apollini *laurus*, etc., Verg. *georg.* 2. 15 f. *nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet | aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus*, 3. 332 f. *sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus | ingentis tendat ramos*, *Aen.* 3. 679 ff. *quales cum vertice celso | aëriae quercus . . . | constiterunt, silva alta Iovis*, Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 1. 17 *quercus in tutela Iovis est*, 7. 13 *sacra autem quercus, aut ipsam quam vult intelligi, aut universum genus, quod et Iovis et olim fatidica*, in Verg. *georg.* 3. 332 *omnis quercus Iovi est consecrata*, in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 129 *haec enim arbor (sc. ilex) in tutela Iovis est*, Ov. *met.* 1. 106 et *quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes*, Phaedr. 3. 17. 2 f. *quercus Iovi | et myrtus Veneri placuit*, Claud. *de rapt. Proserp.* 2. 108 *quercus amica Iovi*.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xv. 292 ff.

⁶ It is noticeable, however, that Virgil speaks of the ordinary terrestrial oak in terms appropriate to a world-tree: *georg.* 2. 291 f. *aesculus in primis, quae, quantum vertice ad auras | aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*,

centres of Jupiter-worship were marked by a sacred oak or a grove of sacred oaks. I have collected the available evidence of this practice in the *Classical Review* for October 1904;¹ and I shall here confine myself to citing a few typical cases of it. The earliest temple at Rome was that which Romulus himself planned for Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, where grew "an oak held sacred by the shepherds."² Vediovis, the chthonian Jupiter worshipped in the dip of the same hill, appears on coins of the Fonteii, Gargilii, and Ogulnii wearing a wreath of oak.³ Juno too, whose temple stood on the adjoining Arx, like Jupiter, had the oak as her sacred crown.⁴ On the Caelian, which in ancient times was covered with oak-woods and known as the Mons Querquetulanus,⁵ there was a Sacred Tree,⁶ presumably the tree of Jupiter Caelius who is represented on a bas-relief as standing beside his oak-tree.⁷ Tibur worshipped Jupiter under the titles Custos, Praestes, Territor,⁸ and pointed to a clump of three ancient oaks as the spot where its eponym Tiburnus or Tiburtus had been inaugurated.⁹ At Praeneste, where oaks were so abundant that Servius¹⁰ derives the name of the town from them (πρῖνος!), Fortuna Primigenia¹¹ had an oracular shrine close to the temple of Jupiter Arcanus:¹² the famous *sortes Praenestinae* were graven in

Aen. 4. 445 f. ipsa (sc. quercus) haeret scopulis, et, quantum vertice ad auras | aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit. Another possible reminiscence of the Yggdrasill-tree occurs in connexion with Jupiter Tigillus, i.e. Jupiter "the Beam," who, according to Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11, was so called "quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret."

¹ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 360 ff.

² Liv. 1. 10. 5.

³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 507, 532, ii. 266.

⁴ Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92.

⁵ Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

⁶ *Notitia Regionum* Regio ii. Caelemontium: continet . . . arborem sanctam.

⁷ Dessau 3080.

⁸ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 3557, Dessau 3401, 3028.

⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 237.

¹⁰ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678.

¹¹ Dessau 3684-3686.

¹² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2937, 2972; cp. R. Peter in Roscher *Lex* i. 1541., 59 ff.

archaic characters on tablets of oak.¹ Indeed, the common cult of the Latins, that of Jupiter Latiaris, was carried on in a grove of oaks² on the summit of the Alban Mount.

As Jupiter and Juno had their oaks, so had Janus and Diana (Jana) before them. Pliny³ states that "on the Vatican is an oak-tree (*ilex*) older than Rome itself, bearing a bronze inscription in Etruscan letters, which proves that even in those early days the tree was thought worthy of religious veneration." This tree was probably sacred to Tina or Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter,⁴ though the proximity of the Janiculum, an ancient seat of Janus, makes it possible that it was a Janus-oak. Virgil⁵ speaks of an oak sacred to Father Tiber, who was regarded as the son of Janus.⁶ When the Plebs seceded to the Janiculum, it was in a grove of oaks by the Tiber-side that Q. Hortensius the dictator passed the law which induced them to return.⁷ Further, the title *Quirinus*, which was borne alike by Janus⁸ and by Jupiter,⁹ I take to mean "the Oak-god," *quiris* being "the oaken spear" and *Quirites* "the men of the oaken spear."¹⁰ Juno also was entitled *Quiris* or *Quiritis*.¹¹ Diana, the original

¹ Cic. *de div.* 2. 85.

² Liv. 1. 31. 3 ex summi cacuminis luco. That this "lucus" was of oaks I infer from the tradition that the sow of Alba Longa was found "sub ilicibus" (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 43, Auson. *epist.* 7. 17).

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 237.

⁴ Roscher *Lex* ii. 627 ff. According to Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 161 Lindemann, the Etruscans had a settlement on the Vatican, whence they were expelled by the Romans in obedience to an oracle.

⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 421 ff.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330.

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37, cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 152 and the *vicus Aesclati* on the Tiber-bank opposite to the Janiculum (Pauly-Wissowa i. 682).

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 16 and 40.

⁹ Two tiles from Casteldieri (Dessau 3036) are inscribed [*Io*]vi *Quirino* and *Iovi Cyrin[o]* C. *Tati Max.*

¹⁰ See *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 f.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 596 ff.

partner of Janus, was likewise an oak-goddess. One of her most famous cults was that on Mount Tifata near Capua; and *tifata* meant "oak-groves."¹ Another was on the oak-clad Mount Algidus;² *à propos* of which it should be observed that, when in 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain of a treaty broken by the Aequians, they were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak-tree on Mount Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters.³ The chief temple of Diana at Rome was on the Aventine,⁴ whose slopes were covered in early days with the oak-wood of Picus and Faunus.⁵ A "very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana" was on the Caeliolus,⁶ which formed part of the Mons Querquetulanus.⁷ Lastly, a relief in the Palazzo Colonna⁸ shows a statue of Diana standing beside an old but fruitful oak.

Substitutes for the oak are sometimes found in the cults of Italy, as in those of Greece.⁹ It is well known that the Greek word *φηγός*, "oak," appears in Latin as *fagus*, "beech."¹⁰ The beech was in fact a religious as well as a verbal equivalent of the oak. Varro¹¹ in his account of the Esquiline mentions the view that the hill derived its name from the oak-trees (*aesculi*) with which

¹ Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 156 Lindemann: *Tifata* iliceta.

² Hor. *od.* I. 21. 6, *carm. saec.* 69, *cp. od.* 3. 23. 9 f.

³ Liv. 3. 25.

⁴ Liv. I. 45, *alib.*

⁵ Ov. *fast.* 3. 295.

⁶ Cic. *de har. resp.* 32.

⁷ Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

⁸ Th. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 15. In *Class. Rev.* xviii. 370 fig. 3 I have reproduced it after C. Bötticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* fig. 26.

⁹ *Folk-lore* xv. 296 ff.

¹⁰ On the fact and its significance see O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* p. 272 f., *Reallexikon* p. 116 f., Frazer *The Golden Bough*² iii. 347, n. 1.

¹¹ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 49, where the words *alii ab aesculetis* are a cj. of C. O. Müller approved by Bunsen.

it was planted by Servius Tullius, and supports this derivation by the statement that there were in the vicinity a grove of beech-trees and a chapel of the Oak-wood Lares (*lucus ... facutalis et Larum Querquetulanum sacellum*). Elsewhere¹ he connects the name Fagutal with *fagus*, and speaks of a shrine of Jupiter Fagutalis as existing on the spot. There was also an ancient Dianium on the Fagutal.² It seems clear, therefore, that Jupiter, and perhaps Diana before him, was worshipped on the Esquiline as a beech-wood deity.³ Similarly on a hill called Corne near Tusculum there was an ancient cult of Diana in a grove of beech-trees.⁴ And, when Numa consulted Faunus in the oak-wood already mentioned, he bound his brows twice with a wreath of beech-leaves.⁵

Of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak⁶ there are few, if any, traces in Italian cult. Egeria, the goddess-wife of Numa, bore a name which was once spelt Aegeiria,⁷ and should probably be connected with *αἴγειρος*, "a poplar."⁸ But *αἴγειρος*, as we have seen, originally denoted "an oak," and Egeria is described as an oak-

¹ *Ib.* 152. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37 *silvarum certe distinguebatur (sc. Roma) insignibus, Fagutali Iove etiam nunc ubi lucus fageus fuit, porta Querquetulana, etc., Paul. exc. Fest. p. 65 Lindemann: Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur.*

² *Class. Rev.* xvi. 380 n. 3.

³ Kern in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 158 justly regards Jupiter Fagutalis as the Roman counterpart of the Greek Zeus Φηγωναίος (*Folk-lore* xv. 296) and compares the Aquitanian god Fagus (Dessau 4531).

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 242.

⁵ *Ov. fast.* 4. 656.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xv. 297 f.

⁷ This, according to De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 694, was at one time the common spelling of the name and is still to be found here and there in Latin literature, e.g. in Val. Max. i. 2. 1. **ÆECETIÆ · POCOVOM** on a bowl from Vulci was taken by Secchi (*Il musivo Antoniniano* p. 47, cp. *Bull. dell' Inst. arch.* 1843 p. 72, 127) to be an older form of Aegeiria's name: but this is very doubtful, see Fabretti *Gloss. Ital.* p. 24 f.

⁸ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 366 n. 4.

nymph.¹ In a dedicatory inscription found at Praeneste,² a certain Caesius Taurinus speaks of his father as—

“Fortunae simulacra colens et Apollinis aras
Arcanumq. Iovem.”

*Adoring Fortune's form, Apollo's altars,
And Jupiter of the Mysteries.*

But in place of “Arcanumque Iovem” various scholars have read “Aegeriumque Iovem.”³ If this reading is sound, it affords an excellent parallel to Ægeria, “the oak-goddess,” since Jupiter at Praeneste was an oak-god.⁴

The nut-tree too, since like the oak and the beech it bore edible fruit, was connected with Jupiter in popular parlance. “Nuts,” says Servius,⁵ “are under the protection of Jupiter: wherefore also they are called *iuglandes*, that is Jupiter's acorns (*Iovis glandes*).”

It is probable that the Italians, like the Greeks,⁶ regarded oak-mistletoe as the quintessence of the oak, and so connected it with the most brilliant manifestation of the sky-god, *i.e.* with the sun. The sun seems to figure in Italian religion as the wheel or orb of Fortuna,⁷ who

¹ Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 9 νυμφῶν μίαν ἀρνύδων.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2852, Bücheler *Carm. Lat. epigraph.* 249.

³ *E.g.* S. V. Pighius *Hercules Prodicus* Antverpiae 1587 p. 525 professes to have copied the inscription himself from the original marble base with the reading **AEGEIVMQ · IOVEM**, and J. Gruter *Inscr. Rom. Corp.* p. 72, 5 gives a drawing of it with the same reading. On the other hand, H. Dessau in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2852 reads **ARCANVMQ · IOVEM**, and says of the inscription as a whole: “descripsit de Rossi, recognovi ipse post Mommsenium.” The matter needs clearing up; which should be easy, since the base is still extant in the Barberini Gardens at Praeneste.

⁴ *Supra* p. 280 f.

⁵ Serv. in Verg. *ec.* 8. 30, cp. Cloatius Verus *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 18. 4 *Iuglans* . . . quasi *Diuglans*, id est Διὸς βάλανος and the context, Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 102 haec glans optuma et maxuma ab Iove et *glande iuglans* est appellata. See further *Class. Rev.* xviii. 86.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xv. 424 ff.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 421. M. Gaidoz, who first detected the true character of “Fortune's wheel,” further pointed out that the dedication-day of the

at Rome, Praeneste, and perhaps elsewhere, was associated with an oak-Jupiter and Juno.¹ Now in Greece the solar wheel was referred to a special mistletoe-god, Ixion.² When, therefore, at Rome we find a cult of Fortuna *Viscata*,³ Fortuna "of the Mistletoe," it becomes probable that here too the sun was connected with oak-mistletoe. Again, Fortuna was a very ancient goddess of fertility,⁴ who is sometimes called the daughter of Jupiter.⁵ Fortuna with her wheel would thus be the Italian counterpart of Persephone with her wheel in the vase-paintings of the Greeks.⁶ Virgil, therefore, knew what he was about when he described the famous "golden bough" first as sacred to Juno of the nether world, whom in the context he calls Proserpina, and secondly as growing on an evergreen oak like mistletoe.⁷

I have next to show that in Italy, as in Greece,⁸ the reigning monarch was regarded as representative and vicergerent of the sky-god. To begin with, two or three

temple of Fors Fortuna was June 24 (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1501), *i.e.* the summer solstice, and concluded that Fortuna may be traced back to a solar deity (*Études de Myth. Gaul.* i. 56 ff.): see, however, Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 169 f.

¹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1518, 1541 ff., 1546.

² *Class. Rev.* xvii. 420.

³ Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 74, *de fort. Rom.* 10.

⁴ Fortuna was specially worshipped by women under the titles Virgo, Virilis, Muliebris, Mammosa, etc. (Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 167 f.). An ancient bronze tablet (Dessau 3684) records an offering to Fortuna Primocenia *nationu cratia*, *i.e.* "in gratitude for fertility." Columella 10. 311 ff. bids gardeners offer their produce to Fors Fortuna when the harvest is ripe and the sun's heat greatest. Several symbols of the goddess, the cornucopia, the *modius* or grain-measure, and the ears of corn (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1503 ff., 1506), belong to one who was originally no mere personification of luck, but rather the bountiful spirit who brought to birth (*Fortuna* connected with *fero*) the offspring of all living things.

⁵ Dessau 3684, 3685.

⁶ Preller-Robert, p. 805 n. 1, *Class. Rev.* xvii. 176.

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 138, 142, 205 ff.

⁸ *Folk-lore* xv. 299 ff.

legends have come down to us which tell how the early king was after his death identified with Jupiter. Thus Festus¹ says of Latinus, the eponymous king of the Latins, that "he vanished in a battle with Mezentius king of Caere, and was thought to have become Jupiter Latiaris." So too Aeneas, the founder of the Alban dynasty, disappeared in a battle with Mezentius or with Turnus, and was thenceforward worshipped under the title Jupiter Indiges.² Romulus, according to the usual tradition, was caught up to heaven in a thunderstorm, but subsequently appeared in more than mortal beauty to Proculus Julius, and announced that he had become the god Quirinus,³ *i.e.* "the oak-god." Nor was it only after death that the early Italian king claimed the attributes of divinity. Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, who fortified Alba Longa, was surnamed Iulus;⁴ and Iulus means "young Jupiter."⁵ The bright, but harmless flame, which is said to have played about his head, was appropriate to a representative of the sky-god: his grandfather on seeing it at once recognised the sign, and offered a prayer to Jupiter of the sky.⁶ Ascanius at his death left a son also called Iulus;⁷ and the poets speak of

¹ Fest. p. 193 Lindemann, cp. schol. Bob. in Cic. *pro Planc.* p. 256 Orelli.

² Liv. I. 2. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 56, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* I. 259, 4. 620.

³ Liv. I. 16. 1 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 475 ff., Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27 f., Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, *alib.*

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* I. 267 ff., *alib.*

⁵ [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 15. 5 igitur Latini Ascanium ob insignem virtutem non solum Iove ortum crediderunt, sed etiam per diminutionem, declinato paululum nomine, primo Iobum, dein postea Iulum appellarunt; a quo Iulia familia manavit, ut scribunt Caesar lib. ii. et Cato in Originibus. The name has been traced through the forms *Diovilus*, *Iovilus*, *Iohilus*, *Ioilus*, *Iulus*: see Bücheler in *Rhein. Mus.* 1889 xliii. 135, 1890 xlv. 323, Stolz *Hist. Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* i. 204, 460.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 2. 680 ff.

⁷ [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 17. 4, cp. Hieronym. *ad ann.* 870 Ascanius Iulium procreavit, a quo familia Iuliorum orta.

his descendants,¹ or even of the Romans in general, as Iuli²—a compliment doubtless to the Cæsars, for the great gens Julia claimed descent from Iulus.³ The name *Ascanius* appears to mean “he of the oak” (cp. ἄσκρα, “oak,”)⁴ so that Ascanius Iulus may have meant neither more nor less than “the young oak-Jupiter”—a sufficiently remarkable appellation. According to tradition, his son disputed the succession with Silvius, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, “and to Iulus in place of the sovereignty a certain holy power and honour was given, preferable to the royal dignity both for security and for ease; and this his posterity enjoy down to the present time, being called Julii for him.”⁵ These words of Dionysius seem to record a genuine separation of the sacred from the secular functions of the Alban dynasty. Note, however, that Silvius and the line of Silvii who succeeded him,⁶ retained a cognomen suitable to representatives of a tree-god: *Silvius* means “he of the Forest.” Moreover, since Virgil introduces them one and all as crowned with “civic oak,”⁷ this tree-god must have been an oak-Jupiter.⁸ Romulus Silvius, the eleventh in descent, claimed the powers of Jupiter in a very practical way. Ovid⁹ describes him as “Remulus . . . mimick o’ the thunderbolt”; and

¹ Aus. *epist.* 16. 85 ff. ut quondam in Albae moenibus | supremus Aenea satus | Silvios Iulis miscuit.

² Val. Flacc. 1. 9 oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos, Sil. 3. 595 f. sacris augebit nomen Iulis | bellatrix gens bacifero nutrita Sabino. Prudentius actually uses the singular *Iulus* collectively of the Roman people: *perist.* 2. 454 f. agnoscat et verum Deum | errans Iuli caecitas.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 288, *alib.*

⁴ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 363.

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 70.

⁶ See the lists in Marindin *Class. Dict.* s.v. “Silvius.”

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772, a passage to which Dr. Frazer drew my attention. On a sarcophagus in the Mattei collection at Rome Rhea Silvia reclines beneath an oak-tree (C. Robert *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* iii. 2, p. 229, pl. 60).

⁸ *Infra* p. 307 f.

⁹ Ovid. *met.* 14. 617 f.

Dionysius,¹ who calls him Alladius, says that "in contempt of the gods he contrived mock thunderbolts and noises like thunder, wherewith he thought to frighten men as though he were a god. But a storm fraught with rain and lightning falling upon his house, and the lake near which it stood swelling in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family." Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste, where there was an oak-cult of Jupiter and Fortuna,² had been conceived by his mother from a spark off the hearth, and proved his divine origin to an incredulous crowd by enveloping them with flame.³ Probably both Alladius and Caeculus, like Salmoneus in the Greek myth,⁴ claimed to be Jupiter incarnate.

In the first edition of his *Golden Bough* Dr. Frazer suggested that the *rex Nemorensis* or king of Diana's Wood at Nemi personated an oak-Jupiter.⁵ This suggestion, I confess, at the time failed to convince me. But by way of support for it I pointed out,⁶ in a review of Dr. Frazer's second edition, that at Aquileia Jupiter actually bore the title *Dianus*;⁷ and at Aquileia, I may add, there was also a cult of Imperial Diana.⁸ Partly on the strength of this Jupiter Dianus Dr. Frazer amended his original suggestion, and towards the close of 1903 told me that, according to his revised theory, the partner of Diana at Nemi must have been Dianus or Janus, a collateral form of Jupiter. I am now satisfied that he was from the outset on the right track, and that a Dianus or Janus

¹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* i. 71.

² *Supra* p. 280 f.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xv. 300, 312.

⁵ Frazer *Golden Bough* i. ii. 369 f., *ib.* iii. 450, 456 f.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xvi. 372 n. 1.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 783 Iovi Dianó · C · Herren · nius · Candidus
v · s · l · m.

⁸ Dessau 3245 f. prints in juxtaposition two very similar dedications to Diana, one to Diana Nemorensis now at Narona, the other to Diana Augusta found at Aquileia. The cult of Diana Augusta at Aquileia is also attested by *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 771, 772.

of some sort was in fact worshipped along with Diana at Nemi, and was conceived as immanent in the person of the *rex Nemorensis*. The worship of a Jupiter Dianus (Janus) appears not only from an unfinished marble bust "probably intended to represent Jupiter,"¹ which was found by Lord Savile in one of the shrines on the spot, but also from a very remarkable Janiform *stele* discovered in the same precinct. This *stele*, which is inscribed SACR DIAN (presumably "Sacred to Diana," though conceivably "Sacred to Dianus"), is described as follows in the official *Catalogue*²: it "consists of the head of a beardless young man, and of an elderly man with a flowing beard. Both have on their foreheads fishes' fins, looking like small wings, aquatic plants cover the neck and chest, and scales cover the cheeks of both heads; the head of the young man has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the beard of the elder head seems saturated with water, and the long damp hair of both heads seems to be blown about in the wind. Etc." I take it that this *stele* portrays Dianus (Janus) as a water-god. Diana beside the lake of Nemi, which was called her "Mirror,"³ may well have been, as Th. Birt⁴ conjectured, not only a goddess of the bright sky,⁵ but also a goddess of the bright reflecting water. And Dianus (Janus), whom Nigidius Figulus held

¹ G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of the Nottingham Art Museum* no. 832.

² *Id. ib.* no. 611, where the *stele* is figured.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 516 *Triviae lacus*: hic est qui Dianae speculum dicitur, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2772.

⁴ Birt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1005 f.

⁵ The torch-light procession to the Lake in honour of Diana Nemorensis took place on the Ides at the hottest time of year (*Stat silv.* 3. 1. 52 ff.), i.e. on Aug. 13th, which was the birthday of Diana and, like all other Ides, a festival of Jupiter (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 198). For the inferences deducible from these facts see Birt, *loc. cit.* Diana was certainly a sky-goddess at Tibur: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 3536 (Tibur) *Dianae Caelesti sacrum* etc.

to be a sun-god with Diana for his partner,¹ had an aquatic as well as a celestial aspect. He was, it will be remembered, the mate of Juturna, the old Latin goddess of lakes and rivers.² He was the father of Fontus,³ the god of springs and wells, whose Janiform head appears on coins of the gens Fonteia.⁴ He was the father also of the river Tiber, whose sacred oak is mentioned by Virgil,⁵ and of Canens the water-nymph, whom King Picus preferred to the Naiads of Nemi.⁶ It was said that, when the Sabines on one occasion attempted to force their way into Rome, a raging flood of waters burst out from the temple of Janus and drove them back.⁷ All this and more⁸ goes to prove that an aquatic bust of Janus is far from being incredible.⁹ Moreover, that this god was

¹ *Supra* p. 277 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 277.

³ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29.

⁴ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 499.

⁵ *Supra* p. 281.

⁶ Ov. *met.* 14. 320 ff.

⁷ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 18, Ov. *fast.* 1. 267 ff., Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 291.

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 41.

⁹ In what relation to this watery Janus, it may be asked, did Diana's favourite Virbius stand? Virbius is an ancient name of unknown origin, which appears on both sides of the Adriatic. According to Vibius Sequester (p. 20, 5 Oberlin) there was a river Virbius in Laconia and (*ib.* p. 22, 15) a spring Virvinus also in Laconia. These statements are supported by the name *Ιρβος*, which occurs as that of a mythical person connected with the cult of Artemis at Sparta (Paus. 3. 16. 9). Perhaps, then, Virbius in Italy, as in Greece, was an aboriginal stream-god, identified with the watery form of Janus. Note that *Irbo*s was son of *Amphisthenes* and grandson of *Amphicles* (Paus. 3. 16. 9)—a pedigree well suited to a Janiform god; and that Janiform gods were not unknown in Laconia (*Folk-lore* xv. 284). The notion that *Virbius* meant "the man with two lives" (*vir bis*: Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7. 761) might easily arise from his representation with a Janiform head; and the statement that certain persons took Virbius to be the Sun (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7. 776) is intelligible in view of the fact that Janus as the partner of Diana was sometimes identified with that luminary (*supra* p. 277. n. 1, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 44). A list of temple property found at Nemi includes a head of the Sun; but this was probably a head of Jupiter Sol Sarapis (cp. Dessau 4395 ff.), since the temples in question seem to have been those of Isis (Dessau 4423). In the *Class. Rev.* xvi. 373 I proposed to regard the Janiform head from Nemi as that of a river-god Virbius: I still think that view possible, provided

incarnate in the *rex Nemorensis* I should infer from the following considerations. Nemi was the religious centre of a Latin federation. When, therefore, we find that a certain Manius Aegerius¹ or Egerius Laevius of Tusculum, a Latin dictator at the head of this federation, dedicated a grove to Diana at Nemi,² it becomes highly probable that the *rex Nemorensis* discharged the religious duties of the early Latin king, whose secular functions descended to the Latin dictator. In fact, I surmise that the separation of divine and human offices, which took place at Alba, had taken place at Nemi also; and that, just as Iulus obtained "a certain holy power and honour . . . preferable to the royal dignity both for security and for ease,"³ so Virbius, the first king of the Wood, was "to live at his ease in the grove of Diana."⁴ Again, as the secular king of Alba retained the name Silvius, "he of the Forest," so the secular dictator

that we identify Virbius with the water-Janus. Ov. *met.* 15. 539 f. makes Hippolytus say that when Diana transformed him into Virbius, she "added years to mine age and left me not a face that could be recognized." This description suits well the union of a youthful with an elderly head in our bust, and also the curious treatment of the two visages.

If it be thought that the authority of Vibius Sequester, an uncritical compiler, is not enough to justify the foregoing conclusions, I should prefer (with Dr. Frazer) to connect *Virbius* and *verbena*. *Verbena* could denote the branch (*ramus*) of a sacred tree (Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 8. 65, *Aen.* 12. 120), so that *Virbius* may have been 'He of the sacred branch.' Dr. Postgate has suggested to me that *verber*, if it meant originally 'switch,' belongs to the same group of words, referable to the root of *viridis*. The *i* of *Virbius* (sometimes written *Verbius* in the MSS. : see *Class. Rev.* xvi. 380 n. 3) might, he thinks, come in through the influence of *vir* and *virgo*.

Which of these two theories is right, it is hard to say. We shall perhaps reach decisive considerations when we come to deal with the Celtic belief in vervain.

¹ Fest. p. 169 Lindemann.

² Cato *origg.* 2. *frag.* 58 Peter.

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 70 λέγει τις ἐξουσία προσετέθη καὶ τιμὴ τῷ τε ἀκνδύνῳ παρθούσῃ τῆς μοναρχικῆς καὶ τῇ ῥαστώνῃ τοῦ βίου.

⁴ Schol. Pers. *sat.* 6. 56 Aesculapius eum vivum Dianae restituit, et acceptum, in luco suo otiose ut viveret, consecravit, et Virbium vocavit merito, quod bis in vitam prolatus esset.

of the Latins was named Aegerius or Egerius, "he of the Oak." I conceive that the Diana and Dianus, who, on Dr. Frazer's amended hypothesis, had a joint cult in an oak-grove beside the Lake of Nemi, may have been surnamed respectively Aegeria, "the oak-goddess," and Aegerius, "the oak-god": the former epithet, split off from Diana by a process familiar to students of ancient mythology, developed into the separate personality of Aegeria or Egeria, the oak-nymph; the latter epithet, borne by the Latin dictator, marks him as the temporal representative of Janus. Nay, more; for the man's name was also Manius, and from him arose a long line of illustrious Manii, a fact which occasioned the proverb *multi Mani Ariciae*, "There is many a Manius at Aricia."¹ Now an extant fragment of a Salian hymn² says of Janus:

"duonús cerús es oénus"
Thou alone art a good creator—

and we have it on the authority of Festus³ that in a Salian hymn the phrase *Cerus manus* meant "good creator." Whether these translations are right or wrong,⁴

¹ Fest. p. 169 Lindemann.

² Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 26. I follow the text of Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 30.

³ Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 91 Lindemann, cp. *ib.* p. 101 and Fest. p. 169.

⁴ On Cerus, who appears to have been the male counterpart of Ceres, see Aust in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1994 and Wissowa in Roscher *Lex.* i. 867. A. Zimmermann in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1899 xxv. 30f. refers the praenomen *Manius*, the nomen *Manius*, the cognomen *Manianus*, and many other Latin names to *mānus*, "good." W. M. Lindsay *The Latin language* p. 183 accepts "good" as the root-meaning of a whole group of words from the parallel stems *māno-* and *māni-* (*mānus*, *Mānes*, *im-mānis* ? *māne*); and this was the view of Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 4 and Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 3. 13. On the other hand, if *māne* "morning" is to be dissociated from this group, and if *Manius* means "morning-born," as several ancient authorities declare (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 9. 38, Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 102 Lindemann, Auct. *de praenominib.* 6), it was still a suitable name for a representative of Janus, who bore the title "Morning Father" (*Matutinus Pater*) as a god of the brightening sky (Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 20 and Acro *ad loc.*).

it is clear that *manus* was a ceremonial epithet of Janus. But if so, *Manius* may well be a derivative of the same applied to the Manii of Aricia¹ as the representatives of the old divine kings, who were in their day and generation revered as Janus incarnate.² This conjecture is materially strengthened by the fact that the first *rex sacrorum* at Rome was Manius Papirius.³

At this point I may be pardoned for a brief digression, which will help to clear up one of the most familiar but at the same time least intelligible of Italian beliefs. If the *Manii* of Aricia were once regarded as successive incarnations of the sky-god called *manus*, and if we are to recognize the same word in *Manes*, the Latin term for ancestral ghosts or spirits,⁴ it seems probable that originally the forefather of each clan was revered as a Jupiter and thought to be reincarnated in his descendants. This explains at once the use of the plural *Manes* as pertaining to an individual and the belief that these *Manes* were gods (*di Manes*). A man's *Manes* were, it would seem, the whole series of his ancestors who had each in

¹ It may be objected that the name *Manius* should have been borne by the *rex Nemorensis* rather than by the dictator of Aricia. I conceive that originally the two were one and the same; and that, when the division between sacred and profane duties took place, the name *Manius* was given to the secular leader in token of the religious position occupied by his predecessors. It is perhaps significant that the names *Manlius*, *Manlia*, which appear to be cognate with *Manius* (so Zimmermann *loc. cit.*) were borne by several persons in a like position elsewhere. Thus a *rex sacrorum* at Bovillae was named Manlius (Dessau 4942), a *regina sacrorum* at Rome Manlia (Dessau 3941, 3941 a), and probably another *regina sacrorum* at Tibur Manlia (Dessau 1043).

² If I am right in equating Virbius with Janus (*supra* p. 290 n. 9), we obtain an additional argument for regarding the *rex Nemorensis* as an embodiment of Janus; for the first king of the Wood was named Virbius, as was also his son (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 ff.).

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 5. 1.

⁴ Steuding in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2318 ff. shows that the *di Manes* of Roman tombstones were "not the souls of the persons there buried, but ancestral spirits in general or the ancestral spirits of that family in particular."

turn been regarded as Jupiter incarnate. To this series, when he came to die, he added his own *genius* or birth-god, the divine spirit transmitted to him at the moment of conception on the *lectus genialis* or bridal-bed. This appears not only from such dedications as a tombstone¹ at Pola inscribed—

MÁNIBVS | ET GENIO | P. VATRĪ · SEVERI
To the Manes and Genius of P. Vatrius Severus,

or a funeral lamp² in the Museo Kircheriano painted with the words—

Helenus : suom genio M(a)nib inferis | mandat · stipem · strenam · lumen |
 suom · secum · defert · ne quis · eum | solvat nisi · nos · qui · legamus.
Helenus commends his Genius to the Manes below. He brings down with him as contribution and gift his light. Let no man loose him but we who bind.

but also from definite statements made by various classical authors. Thus Martianus Capella³ says: "Inasmuch as the *Manes* are assigned to bodies at the moment of conception, when life is over they still delight in these bodies and haunting them are called *Lemures*. If they are supported by the virtue of their past life, they become the *Lares* of households and towns. But if they are depraved by the body, they are spoken of as *Larvae* and *Maniae*." We are here told that the *Manes* are embodied at conception; in other words, that the ancestral spirits are reincarnated in their descendants, presumably as *genii*. Servius⁴ says much the same: "Some hold that the *Manes* are identical with the *genii* of antiquity; and that, as soon as the body is conceived, two *Manes* are assigned to it, which do not desert it even in death, but on the consumption of the body still inhabit its

¹ Wilmanns *Exempla inscr. Lat.* 233. Others are cited by Orelli 1725, 1727.

² *Bull. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1860 p. 70. Garucci read "suom geniom dis inferis," but his facsimile has beyond a doubt SVOMGENIO M NIBINFERIS.

³ Mart. Cap. 2. 162 f. ⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63, cp. *ib.* 6. 743.

tomb." But if the *Manes* before birth become *genii*, conversely the *genii* after death become *Manes*, who are further identified with the *Lares* or *Larvae*. According to Arnobius,¹ "Varro declares at one time that the *Lares* are *Manes*, and that consequently the mother of the *Lares* was named *Mania*, at another that they are the so-called gods of the air and heroes; or again, following ancient authorities, he says that the *Lares* are *Larvae*, being as it were the *genii* of the departed² or souls of the dead." This identification of the *genius* with the *Lar*, i.e. with the *Lar familiaris*, who appears to have been the forefather of the family³ buried under the hearth,⁴ is indeed fairly well attested. Censorinus⁵ informs us that Granius Flaccus, a contemporary of Caesar, and many other writers held the *genius* and the *Lar* to be one and the same. Ausonius⁶ speaks of "the *genius* of our homes, to wit the *Lar* sprung from Larunda." And Ovid⁷ describes December, the month of the Larentalia, as "welcome to the *genii*." Lastly, Servius⁸ quotes

¹ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 41.

² The MSS. have "quasi quosdam genios effunctorum animas mortuorum." We should perhaps read "quasi quosdam genios defunctorum [animas mortuorum]," the last two words being a gloss. For other emendations see Oehler *ad loc.*

³ Plaut. *merc.* 834 *familiai Lar pater*, cp. Laberius *ap.* Non. 119, 27 *Merc. genius generis nostri parens*.

⁴ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 5. 64 *etiam domi suae sepeliebantur: unde orta est consuetudo, ut dii penates colantur in domibus, ib.* 6. 152 *apud maiores . . . omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. unde [ortum est, ut lares colerentur in domibus, unde] etiam umbras larvas vocamus, Isid. origg.* 15. 11. 1 *prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur. See Class. Rev.* xi. 32 ff. These statements are confirmed by the myths concerning the birth of Romulus (Plut. *vit. Rom.* 2), Servius Tullius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 204), and Caeculus (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7. 678). Servius Tullius in particular was called the son of the *Lar familiaris* (Plin. *loc. cit.*).

⁵ Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 3.

⁶ Auson. *technop. de deis* 9.

⁷ Ov. *fast.* 3. 58.

⁸ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 63. The quotation is probably a paraphrase of Appul. *de deo Socr.* 688 f.

from Appuleius the following dictum: "*Manes* are souls of the better sort, which while they are in our body are called *genii*, but on quitting the body *Lemures*. When they attacked and infested a house, they used to be named *Larvae*; if on the other hand they were propitious and favourable, they were known as the *Lares* of the family." A perusal of the foregoing passages certainly confirms us in the belief that the *genius* or birth-god comes from the *Manes* and returns to the *Manes*; in fact, that the *genius* of every man is but the reincarnation of an ancestor's *genius*.

Moreover, it is highly probable that this *genius* was a Jupiter. To begin with, there is the important fact that in the case of a woman it was called her Juno.¹ Secondly, Caesius,² who professed to follow Etruscan authorities, declared that the *Penates* were Fortuna, Ceres, the *genius Iovialis*, and the masculine Pales: this *genius Iovialis* is evidently a family god of some kind, and must not be confused with the *genius Iovis* of literature and inscriptions,³ who was merely the *genius* of an anthropomorphic Jupiter. Thirdly, Augustine⁴ expressly identifies the *genius* with Jupiter—a conclusion based on the general similarity between the functions of the *genius* and those of Jupiter *progenitor*. Fourthly, the nearest analogy to the word *genius* is offered by Fortuna *Primigenia*, the oak-goddess of Praeneste. The meaning of her title is disputed. Some⁵ take it to denote "Eldest-born"; and this is supported by two inscriptions, which certainly call

¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 615 ff.

² Caesius *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 40. A little further on (*ib.* 43) we read: "Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, *Iovialis aut Genius*." The Etruscan Tages is described as *Genii filius, nepos Iovis* (Fest. *s.v.* "Tages" p. 273 Lind.).

³ Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 29. 5, Dessau 4906: see Orelli 1730.

⁴ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 13 quid est Genius? . . . hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem.

⁵ *E.g.* R. Peter in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1542.

her "daughter of Jupiter."¹ Others² translate "Authoress or Mother of all things," and point to Cicero's³ statement that the spot where the oaken tablets of Praeneste were found "is nowadays carefully railed in on account of the sanctuary of the boy Jupiter, who, seated as a suckling along with Juno on the lap of Fortuna and reaching towards her breast, is worshipped with the utmost reverence by mothers." The cult was singular, not to say unique. "Italy," says Mr. Warde Fowler,⁴ "presents us with no real parallel to this child-Jupiter"; and that he should have been conceived not only as a child but also as a father is still more mystifying. If, however, we may venture to interpret *Primigenia* as "First of the *genii* or birth-gods," we go some way towards reading the riddle, because every *genius* is from one point of view a father, from another a son. The infants Jupiter and Juno on the lap of Fortuna would, on this showing, be the typical male and female *genii*. The suggestion is strengthened by the constant coupling and occasional identification of Fortuna and Genius, or of Fortuna and Tutela (=female Genius), in inscriptions.⁵ Fifthly, there were but very few festivals in the Roman calendar sacred to Jupiter. One of these few was the Larentalia on December 23, which Ovid described as "welcome to the *genii*."⁶ Macrobius⁷ explains the connexion as follows: on this day the *flamen* (*Quirinalis*⁸) offered a solemn sacrifice to the *Manes* of Acca Larentia (the Mother of the Lares⁹), and the occasion was sacred to Jupiter because "the ancients held that souls were given

¹ Dessau 3684, 3685.

² See J. A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1270. Cp. also Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10 τὴν δὲ τύχην . . . ὡς πρωτόπολιν καὶ τιθηνόν.

³ Cic. *de div.* 2. 85.

⁴ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 225.

⁵ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1522 f., Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1276.

⁶ *Supra* p. 295.

⁷ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 10. 15.

⁸ Gell. 7. 7. 7.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 5.

by Jupiter and after death returned again to him." D. Junius Brutus, the consul of 138 B.C., used to perform his family *parentatio* or funeral offerings not, as all other Romans did, in February, but in December.¹ May not this have been the older system kept up in the family of one who claimed descent from Jupiter?² Sixthly, the common representation of the *genius* as a snake³ suits Jupiter, who was known to appear as a snake on the *lectus genialis*.⁴ Seventhly, it explains the belief in a two-fold *genius*⁵; for, as Jupiter was the god now of the bright sky, now of the dark sky (Jupiter Summanus), so the *genius* was "changeable of aspect, white or black."⁶ But to all this it may be objected: if the *genius* was Jupiter, why is he never, except in the quasi-philosophic Augustine, called Jupiter? I suspect that the Romans refrained from mentioning their personal Jupiter from a fear lest others should work mischief with the name. The name of the tutelary god of Rome was never uttered for that reason, and Q. Valerius Soranus who divulged it came to a bad end.⁷ Servius⁸ mentions in this connexion that on the Capitol at Rome was a shield inscribed "To the Genius of the city of Rome, whether male or female,"

¹ Cic. *de leg.* 2. 54, Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 34.

² *Infra* p. 303, Junius = "son of Jupiter." ³ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1623 f.

⁴ Aur. Vict. *de vir. illustr.* 49. 1.

⁵ Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 3, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 6. 743, cp. *ib.* 3. 63.

⁶ Hor. *epist.* 2. 2. 189. If the *genius* was a Janus rather than a Jupiter, its duplication is equally intelligible.

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 18, Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 61. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 277, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 65 and Solin. 1. 5 say that Valerius Soranus divulged the forbidden name of Rome; and Solinus explains (*ib.* 1. 1) that the name in question was Valentia. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 125, 5 Wünsch asserts that the mystic name was Ἔρως, i.e. *Amor*. But both must be late inventions: Valentia is but a Latinized form of Ῥώμη, and *Amor* is a palindrome for *Roma*. Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 9. 3 states that both the tutelary god of Rome and the Latin name of Rome itself were kept profound secrets, but does not attempt to disclose them.

⁸ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 2. 351.

and that the pontiffs used to pray "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or by what other name thou wouldst be called." This raises a suspicion that the Genius of Rome was the Capitoline Jupiter. And it is noteworthy that Augustine¹ quotes from Varro the one surviving couplet of the imprudent Valerius Soranus—

"Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
progenitor genetrisque deum, deus unus et omnes."
Almighty Jupiter, father of kings and things
And gods, yea mother of gods, whole god and sole.—

the very couplet, it will be observed, which Augustine cited in support of his contention that the *genius* was Jupiter.² However that may be, we are, I believe, justified in maintaining that the family *genius*, the godhead incarnate in the founder of the clan, and passed on from father to son, was none other than Jupiter. Appuleius³ speaks of "prayers addressed to *Genius* and *Genita*": the former he describes as *Manium deum*⁴; the latter reappears in Plutarch⁵ and Pliny⁶ as *Genita Mana*, a birth-goddess to whom dogs (the offering appropriate to the *Lares Praestites*⁷) were sacrificed in order that none of those born in the house might become *manus*, *i.e.* might die. In both cases the epithet adds weight to my conclusion that the deity incarnate was the sky-god who bore the old religious title *manus*.⁸

But it is time to resume the thread of our main argument. At Rome too, as throughout Latium, there are

¹ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 9.

² *Supra* p. 296.

³ Appul. *de deo Socr.* 687.

⁴ *Id. ib.* 689 nomine Manium deum nuncupant. The older texts give the variant "Manem deum."

⁵ Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 52.

⁶ Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 58.

⁷ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* pp. 101, 351 f.

⁸ If Birt is right in urging that another name for the *genius* was *cerus* (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1615), my case is still further strengthened, since the phrase *cerus manus* was used of Janus by the Salii (*supra* p. 292).

several indications that the king was deemed an embodiment of Janus or Jupiter. In the first place, Janus is said to have reigned as a king on the Janiculum,¹ which probably implies that the local king personated Janus and bore his name. A very ancient hymn of the Salii² saluted Janus as "first and foremost of divine kings." And just as Iulus, the human Jupiter of Alba Longa, founded the gens Julia, so the human Janus of the Janiculum may have founded the gens Diania and the gens Dianidia mentioned in Roman inscriptions.³

Now, a double Janus would be represented better by two kings than by one. It is, therefore, I venture to think, highly significant that there was a marked and persistent tendency towards a dual kingship both at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. My suggestion is that the two kings, twins if possible, were regarded as the most fitting embodiment of the two-fold sky-god.⁴ Procas, king of Alba, left his kingdom to his two sons Amulius and Numitor on condition that they should take it in turns to reign for a year⁵—a rule that recalls on the one hand the alternate life of the Dioscuri,⁶ on the other the alternate office of the consuls.⁷ Romulus and Remus on coins of Rome,⁸ like the Dioscuri on coins of Greece,⁹

¹ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 19, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 319.

² *Ap. Varr. de ling. Lat.* 7. 26. I follow the text of Bährens *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 30: promélios dévom récum.

³ De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 612.

⁴ Dr. Frazer has told us that the Baronga of S.E. Africa "bestow the name of *Tilo*—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky" (*The Golden Bough*² i. 91).

⁵ [Aur. Vict.] *de vir. illustr.* 1. 1, cp. Strab. 229.

⁶ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1155 f.

⁷ *Ib.* iii. 482.

⁸ S. W. Stevenson *Dict. of Rom. Coins* p. 914.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1171 f., 1176 f., ii. 2535. Their connection with Juturna at Rome is noteworthy (M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* p. 35 ff., cp. *supra* p. 271 f.).

are represented with two stars above their heads—a recognized numismatic emblem of divinity.¹ Romulus, after the death of Remus, was bidden by an oracle to set an empty throne by his side with a sceptre and crown for Remus, in order that the two brothers might still seem to be associated in the government.² Again, the tradition that Romulus later ruled conjointly with Titus Tatius the Sabine also points to the custom of a dual kingship. When the Tarquins were driven out, the same ancient principle reasserted itself and produced that characteristically Roman institution, the double consulship. There was a certain dramatic fitness in the legend that the battle of lake Regillus, at which the tyrant was finally beaten, was won for the consuls by the help of the great twin brethren Castor and Pollux. The *duo-viri* or highest magistrates in colonies and municipal towns throughout Italy, who sometimes bore the name of praetors,³ and once at least that of dictators,⁴ may have been in every case the political outcome of a conception which was in its origin religious. The same belief possibly contributed to the later duplication of the Caesars: it is to be observed that the *bisellium* or honorary "seat for two" belonged to them in virtue of their divinity.⁵

The god thus represented by the Roman kings and by their republican and imperial successors was, we

¹ Tradition called them the sons of Mars by Rhea Silvia: but this, as we shall see later (*infra* p. 320 f.), does not conflict with their relation to Jupiter. For the moment it may suffice to point out that they were found under the *figus Ruminalis* or *Rumina*, and that the Romans worshipped a Jupiter *Ruminus* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11). On the fig-tree as a substitute for the oak of Jupiter see *Folk-lore* xv. 299 (Zeus *Συκδαίος* etc.).

² Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 276.

³ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. des Ant.* ii. 416 s.v. "duumviri iuridicundo."

⁴ At Fidenae we hear first of *duovirei* (Dessau 5943) and subsequently of two dictators (Dessau 6224).

⁵ E. Beurlier *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* p. 48.

have seen, a sky-god, whose sacred tree was the oak. Thus it was from Egeria, the oak-nymph, that Numa learnt how to control the thunderstorms of Jupiter Elicius.¹ Numa, the priestly king, husband of Egeria, may indeed have been looked upon as Jupiter incarnate. One of his earliest acts was to establish the cult of Jupiter Terminalis²: and M. Babelon remarks the close resemblance between the bust of Jupiter Terminalis on coins of the gens Terentia and the bust of Numa on coins of the gens Calpurnia—"c'est évidemment la même tête et les mêmes traits."³ But the best proof that a Roman king was regarded as an oak-Jupiter lies in the nature of his regalia. A large gold crown of oak-leaves enriched with acorns of precious stones and golden ribands was worn by him⁴ as viceroy of the oak-god, while an ivory sceptre with an eagle perched upon it⁵ proclaimed the human Jupiter.⁶ His throne was hollowed out of a tree stump.⁷ The *fascēs* borne before him by the lictors consisted in each case of an axe bound up in a bundle of rods and fastened with a strap of red leather.⁸ It is probable that the axe was the symbol of Jupiter,⁹ and that the rods were used for purposes of divination¹⁰: both, no doubt, came to be regarded as means of punishment, but their primary significance appears to have been religious, not secular.

The first Roman consuls were doubtless chosen with the utmost care, in order that the kings as representatives

¹ *Supra* p. 269. ² Plut. *vit. Num.* 16, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74.

³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 486.

⁴ Tertull. *de coron. mil.* 13, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 6, 33. 11, *alib.*

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 61 f. Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 371 f.

⁶ See further *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 f.

⁷ Lyd. *de mag.* 1. 7, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 506, 7. 169. Cp. *Class. Rev.* xvii. 406, 413, *Folk-Lore* xv. 416.

⁸ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. ant.* iii. 1239.

⁹ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 362, cp. *ib.* 365.

¹⁰ Cp. the custom of the ancient Germans described by Tac. *Germ.* 10.

of the sky-god might have worthy successors. The two candidates selected were L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Apart from their other qualifications, these two bore well-omened names. For Junius means "the son of Jupiter,"¹ and his colleague was the son of Egerius, "the oak-man."² It is also noteworthy that, when Junius had fallen in battle the same year, the consul elected in his room was Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, whose name suggests the god of light (*lux*, cp. *Lucetius*) in his early three-headed (*triceps*) form. Other members of the same family succeeded him: T. Lucretius Tricipitinus was consul in 508 B.C. and again in 504 B.C.; L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, in 462 B.C.; Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus, in 429 B.C. Further, L. Tarquinius Collatinus, though he was the son of Egerius, yet bore the ill-starred name Tarquinius; and it was, according to Livy,³ precisely on account of his name that he was forced to abdicate and go into exile. In his place the people elected P. Valerius, who bore a well-omened name, and came of a family which, as Niebuhr⁴ suggests, may have exercised kingly power over the Sabines at an early date.

Time after time during the republican era Rome witnessed a recrudescence of this desire to find a Jupiter in her popular heroes. The most remarkable case of it is perhaps that of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major. The people were anxious to make him "perpetual consul

¹C. Pauli in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1899 xxv. 214 f. cites two Latin inscriptions, *Au · Fabi · Jucnus* and *M · Fabius · Junius*, and contends that *Jucnus*=*Jovig(e)nus* and *Junius*=*Jov(i)-nius* are the same name in a complete and clipped form respectively. Cp. *infra* p. 313, n. 8.

²Liv. i. 57. 6, cp. i. 34. 3, i. 38. 1.

³Liv. 2. 2. 3 non placere nomen, periculosum esse libertati, cp. Piso frag. 19 Peter.

⁴Niebuhr *Hist. of Rome* i. 538.

and dictator," in other words, to make him king, to erect statues to him everywhere even on the Capitol in the shrine of Jupiter, and to pass a decree that a portrait-figure of him in triumphal attire should be seen to issue from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹ Indeed, it appears that a portrait of Scipio was actually set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and fetched thence whenever it was needed for a funeral procession of the gens Cornelia.² Scipio never undertook any business, whether public or private, without first resorting to this temple, where he remained for long sunk in contemplation: hence the populace came to believe that he was in reality of divine origin.³ Denarii of the gens Cornelia⁴ represent on the obverse a helmeted head of Scipio surmounted by a star—a symbol of divinity which we have met with already: the reverse shows Jupiter with sceptre and thunderbolt standing between Juno, who has a sceptre, and Minerva, who is placing a wreath or crown upon his head. The latter design is meaningless, unless we assume that Jupiter stands for the victorious Scipio. Another denarius of the same gens⁵ has Jupiter with sceptre and uplifted thunderbolt driving a four-horse chariot over a snaky giant, the blank spaces of the sky being filled with the sun, moon, and a couple of stars. M. Babelon, following Cavedoni, holds that Jupiter here denotes Scipio's brother, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus triumphing over Antiochus the Great, King of Syria. A denarius⁶ struck half-a-century later by another L. Cornelius Scipio

¹ Liv. 38. 56. 12 f., Val. Max. 4. 1. 6.

² Val. Max. 8. 15. 1, App. *de reb. Hisp.* 23. The statues of the kings on the Capitol (Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 9 f., 34. 22 f.) stood in front of the door of the temple, not within it (App. *de bell. civ.* 1. 16).

³ Liv. 26. 19. 5 ff., App. *de reb. Hisp.* 23. Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 49. 1 Iovis filius creditus.

⁴ Babelon, *monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 396 f.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 393 f.

⁶ *Ib.* i. 399.

Asiagenus represents Jupiter with thunderbolt and sceptre in a galloping four-horse chariot, and, according to M. Babelon, refers to the same event. When Cicero¹ speaks of Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, who fell in Spain, as "the two thunderbolts of our empire"; when Lucretius² terms Scipio Major "a thunderbolt of war"; when Virgil and Silius, in imitation of him, call Scipio Major and Scipio Minor "the two thunderbolts of war" and "the thunderbolts of our race";³ when Valerius Maximus,⁴ recording the degeneracy of Scipio's son, exclaims "Gracious gods! Ye suffered this thunderbolt to issue in utter obscurity!", they may be, as Mr. H. A. J. Munro⁵ conjectured, taking the name *Scipio* to mean "a thunderbolt" (σκηπτός), but they may also have been appealing to the primitive sentiment of the Roman people, which identified the hero of the moment with Jupiter himself. Again, Manius Acilius Glabrio, who as consul in 191 B.C. had won a great victory over Antiochus III., not only celebrated the customary triumph on his return to Rome, but was subsequently honoured as more than a mere man. For his son erected a statue of him covered with gold, the first of its kind in Italy.⁶ Another member of the same family, Manius Acilius Balbus, took part in the defeat of Perseus, king of Macedonia—an exploit commemorated on coins⁷ of his son, which show him standing as Jupiter in a four-horse chariot. He holds a sceptre in his left hand, and a thunderbolt in his right; while his chariot is driven

¹ Cic. *pro. Balb.* 34.

² Lucr. 3. 1034.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 842 f., Sil. 7. 106 f.

⁴ Val. Max. 3. 5. 1.

⁵ In his note on Lucr. 3. 1034.

⁶ Liv. 40. 34. This statue may have represented him in the guise of Hercules. For it is as Hercules that he figures on later coins of the family (Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 103 f.) rather than as Jupiter (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* i. pl. 8, 17). The gilded statue was dedicated in the temple of Pietas (Val. Max. 2. 5. 1).

⁷ Morell *Thesaurus Fam. Rom.* Acilia pl. 1, 4, cp. Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 101 f.

by Victory. Possibly the name Manius, which constantly occurs in this ancient family, implies that its members regarded themselves as incarnations of Janus or Jupiter. The populace dubbed Marius after his victory over the Cimbrians in 101 B.C. the third founder of Rome, erected statues to him wholesale, and in their private rejoicings offered incense and libations "to the gods and Marius."¹ He fell in with their humour, and subsequently made a point of using a *cantharus* for his drinking-vessel in order that he might be compared with Father Liber,² *i.e.* Jupiter Liber.³ Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, when he once gained a victory over Sertorius in Spain, was proclaimed *imperator* and received with altars and sacrifices wherever he went. He accepted sumptuous entertainments, at which he sat drinking in triumphal robes, *i.e.* in the costume of Jupiter.⁴ Suddenly a mechanical figure of Victory would descend from the ceiling amid the sound of rolling thunder, bringing a golden trophy or a crown for his "celestial head," while choruses of women and children chanted epinician hymns.⁵ Nor must we hastily accuse Metellus of blasphemy: indeed he was *pontifex maximus* in 65 B.C., and retained the office till his death. It was but another example of the great man claiming to be a greater than man. Pompey in like manner was marked as a hero by his surname *Magnus*: but, perhaps because his family was of plebeian origin, we find him identified with Janus, not Jupiter. On a first-brass of his son Sex. Pompeius Magnus⁶ occurs a laureated head of Janus with the features of Pompey the Triumvir.

It may be surmised that these sporadic examples of

¹ Plut. *vit. Mar.* 27, Sen. *de ira* 3. 18. 1.

² Val. Max. 3. 6. 6.

³ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 105 f., 126 f.

⁴ *Infra* p. 307.

⁵ Sallust *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 13. 7 f., Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 5. 488, Val. Max. 9. 1. 5, Plut. *vit. Sert.* 22.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 351.

would-be Jupiters could be indefinitely multiplied, if we possessed more information with regard to the early history of the Italian *gentes*. For instance, the *gens Iuventia* of Tusculum, *Iuventia*¹ or *Iuentia*² as it was sometimes spelt,—must have traced its descent from a Jupiter.³ Moreover, in Campania a whole series of *Iuvilas* or heraldic columns has been found, one of them expressly dedicated to Jupiter Flagius and many others erected within a precinct of Juno Lucina.⁴ These columns, marked with the armorial bearings of this or that family, represent—if I am right in my conjecture⁵—the ancestor of the family in his character as a human Jupiter. However that may be, it is certain that the Roman who so distinguished himself in war as to deserve the honour of a triumph acted for the time being the part of Jupiter Capitolinus. “The general,” says Mr. G. Mc. Neile Rushforth,⁶ “appeared in the procession in the character of the god. His dress was the same, and it was the property of the temple, and brought thence for the occasion. So, too, the golden crown [of oak-leaves] and the sceptre with its eagle belonged to the god; the body of the general was, in early times at least, painted red like that of the image in the temple; and the white chariot horses used by the emperors, and earlier by Camillus, recalled the white steeds of Jupiter and the Sun.” Another crown of oak-leaves and acorns was the *corona civica* given to the man who had slain an enemy and rescued a fellow-citizen from him. It was originally of holm-oak (*ilex*), but later of evergreen-oak (*aesculus*)—that being the tree specially sacred to Jupiter—or of

¹ *Bull. epigraph.* 1884 p. 112 *Iuventia Victoria*.

² G. Wilmanns *Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* 30, 2820c, *alib.*

³ See C. Pauli in Bezenberger's *Beiträge* 1899 xxv. 214.

⁴ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 101 ff.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 375.

⁶ In Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 894, where references for each statement are given.

evergreen-oak and ordinary oak (*quercus*) mixed; but it regularly had acorns. Once won, it might be always worn; and it conferred various rights on the wearer—*e.g.* at the public games even senators stood up to do him honour.¹ Probably the citizen who wore the oak-crown of Jupiter² was, like the *triumphator*, regarded as in some sort a Jupiter incarnate. Again, a Roman magistrate who contracted a treaty seems to have posed as Jupiter. “The reason,” says Servius,³ “why the sceptre is used when a treaty has to be made is this. Our forefathers on all such occasions were wont to produce an image of Jupiter. This was difficult, especially when the treaty was made with a distant tribe. A way out of the difficulty was for them to hold a sceptre and so copy, as it were, the image of Jupiter; for the sceptre is peculiar to himself.”

It would seem, then, that even in republican times the latent belief in a human Jupiter made itself felt on various occasions and in various ways. When the republic passed into an empire, this belief gathered fresh force from the altered political circumstances of the day. More and more the emperor came to be looked upon as the one human Jupiter—indeed, as the one Jupiter worthy of the name, whether on earth or elsewhere. The whole subject of emperor-worship has been so carefully studied by M. l'Abbé Beurlier⁴ that I shall content myself with indicating those cases in which the emperor was definitely identified with Jupiter in particular.

First and foremost is the case of Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from Iulus and was probably aware that the blood of Jupiter ran in his veins. At least, as early as 68 B.C., when he was a simple quaestor, he proclaimed in the course of a funeral oration that on his father's

¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 11 ff.

² Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 92, *vit. Coriol.* 3.

³ Serv. *in. Verg. Aen.* 12. 206.

⁴ E. Beurlier *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* Paris 1890.

side he was related to Venus and "immortal gods."¹ Twenty years later, after the victory of Pharsalus, the senate decreed that Caesar's chariot should be set up on the Capitol opposite to that of Jupiter, and that a statue of him standing upon a globe should bear the inscription—"He is a demigod" (ἡμίθεος).² Caesar at first disapproved of these flatteries, and even had the obnoxious word effaced.³ But not long afterwards an ivory statue of him, and subsequently a complete chariot, was carried in procession along with the statues of the gods, while another statue of him inscribed *deo invicto* (θεῷ ἀνικῆτῳ) was set up in the temple of Quirinus, and a third on the Capitol beside the old kings of Rome.⁴ Soon he was actually worshipped under the title of Jupiter Julius and provided with M. Antonius as his priest (*flamen Dialis*)⁵—a most singular instance of history repeating itself; for we have seen that the Julii of yore were human Jupiters. Caesar was, as a later tragedian⁶ puts it, "become the peer of Jove." The honours decreed to him were recorded in letters of gold on tablets of silver and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁷ How far he believed in them himself, it is hard to say. When Antonius saluted him as King and placed a laurelled diadem on his head, Caesar replied that Jupiter alone was king of Rome and sent the diadem to the Capitol:⁸ but this may have been a matter of policy. After his assassination, the people were with difficulty restrained from cremating his body in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,⁹ while the authorities conferred upon him the title of *divus*,¹⁰ for which the less accurate but more

¹ Suet. *Caes.* 6.

² Dio 43. 14.

³ *Ib.* 43. 21.

⁴ *Ib.* 43. 45.

⁵ *Ib.* 44. 6, cp. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 110.

⁶ [Sen.] *Oct.* 500 f. gentium domitor, Iovi | aequatus.

⁷ Dio 44. 7.

⁸ *Ib.* 44. 11, Suet. *Caes.* 79, Plut. *vit. Caes.* 61, *alib.*

⁹ Suet. *Caes.* 84, App. *de bell. civ.* 2. 148.

¹⁰ Dessau 73, 73 a, *alib.*

complimentary *deus* was sometimes substituted.¹ The great comet (Halley's), which for seven nights after Caesar's death glittered in the sky,² contributed not a little to confirm the official apotheosis in the minds of the people at large. Octavius set up a bronze statue of Caesar with a star above his head in the temple of Venus.³ The temple of Divus Julius appears on a coin with a star affixed to its pediment.⁴ Numismatic busts, bas-reliefs, and statues were all distinguished by the same emblem, till the *Iulium sidus* or *Caesaris astrum* passed into a poetic commonplace.⁵

Caesar had shown the way: Augustus, though with some apparent hesitation, followed it. Since the rôle of Jupiter had already been taken by Caesar, he took that of Apollo. A statue of him under the guise of this god was erected in the famous Library of the Palatine Apollo.⁶ Popular report said that he gave private banquets at which a dozen diners appeared dressed as the twelve gods and goddesses, the costume of Apollo being reserved for him.⁷ Hence in time of famine people spoke of him as Apollo Tortor, "Apollo the Torturer."⁸ Augustus did more to foster the cult of Apollo than any Roman before or after him; and it has been suggested⁹ that in so doing he

¹ Dessau 72 Genio dei Iuli parentis patriae, quem senatus populusque Romanus in deorum numerum rettulit, 6343 M. Salvio Q. f. Venusto decurioni [be]nific. dei Caesaris, *Corp. inscrr. Lat.* x. 3903, 5, Dittenberger *Sylloge inscrr. Graec.*² 347 Γάιον Ἰούλιον Γατο[υ νί]δον Καίσαρα ... τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδε[ῆ]της θεόν, *Corp. inscrr. Graec.* 2369, cp. Suet. *Case.* 88 in deorum numerum relatus est non ore modo decernentium sed et persuasione volgi, Avid. Cass. 11. 6. haec (sc. clementia) Caesarem deum fecit, and the passages from the poets cited by De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 14 s.v. "Caesar deus."

² Plut. *vit. Caes.* 69, Sen. *quaest. nat.* 7. 17. 2, *alib.*

³ Dio 45. 7, cp. Suet. *Caes.* 88. ⁴ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 59.

⁵ Hor. *od.* 1. 12. 47, Verg. *ecl.* 9. 47, *alib.* See Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 9 f.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *ecl.* 4. 10, comm. Cruq. in Hor. *epist.* 1. 13. 17, cp. *Corp. inscrr. Graec.* add. 2903 f.

⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 70.

⁸ *Id. ib.*

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* 1. 448.

was actuated by the desire to promote the worship of Vediovis, a god commonly identified with Apollo¹ and specially venerated by the gens Julia.² But those who had seen Jupiter himself in Caesar were prepared to find the same god incarnate in his adopted son. Horace³ speaks of Jove as thundering in heaven, of Augustus as his visible vicegerent on earth. Virgil⁴ does not know whether Augustus will choose to be a land-god or a sea-god: an Egyptian poet⁵ makes answer "He is both" in the following extravagant effusion—

*To Caesar lord of sea and lord of shore,
Zeus sprung from Zeus, the Father's freeborn Son,
Whom Europe and whom Asia own as king,
Star of all Hellas, risen as Saviour Zeus.*

After this one does not wonder that a bronze medallion of Tiberius struck at Turiaso in Spain shows Augustus with radiated head grasping a thunderbolt as though he were Jupiter.⁶ A signed cornelian in the Orleans collection is described by S. Reinach⁷ as "Jupiter ou Auguste en Jupiter." And a bronze from Herculaneum, now at Naples,⁸ represents Augustus thunderbolt in hand. Shortly before his death a statue of him was struck by lightning and the word *Caesar* on its base lost the initial *C*: pious

¹ *Folk-lore* xv. 421 n. 300. Possibly Virgil hints at such a desire in *georg.* i. 36 f. *nam te nec sperant Tartara regem, | nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido.*

² Dessau 2988 an ancient altar from Bovillae inscribed *Vediovei Patrei gentiles Iuliei. Vedit[iovei] aara leege Albana dicata.*

³ *Hor. od.* 3. 5. 1 ff.

⁴ *Verg. georg.* i. 24 ff.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Graec.* 4923 (Philae) *Καίσαρι ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι, | Ζανὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίῳ, | δεσπότῃ Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίδος, ἄστρῳ ἀπάσας | Ἑλλάδος, [δς] Σωτ[ή]ρ Ζεὺς ἀν[έ]τε[ι]λ[ε] μέγας κ.τ.λ., cp. 4715 (Denderah) ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, Σεβαστοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

⁶ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 399.

⁷ S. Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 142, pl. 129, 23.

⁸ S. Reinach *Répertoire de la statuaire* i. 190, 3. Cp. *infra* p. 317.

folk concluded that he would live but C, *i.e.* a hundred, days longer and then become an *aesar*, *i.e.* the Etruscan term for a god.¹ An eagle hovering round his head in the Campus Martius was regarded by him as an omen;² and when his body was burnt in the same Campus an eagle was let loose from the pyre to carry his soul heavenwards,³ and an old praetor declared on oath that he had seen the soul of Augustus rise into the sky.⁴ The great sardonyx cameo of La Sainte Chapelle shows Augustus with a veil and rayed crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, upborne by a figure in Phrygian attire, perhaps representing Ascanius Iulus: enthroned below him is the emperor Tiberius, identified with Jupiter by means of the aegis spread upon his lap.⁵ On the yet finer cameo at Vienna known as the "gemma Augustea" Augustus with sceptre, eagle, etc., is enthroned as Jupiter, while a female figure, probably Oecumene, the "World," holds an oak-wreath above his head.⁶ Augustus' wife Livia, who long survived him, is called on Greek coins "the goddess Livia" or "Livia Juno";⁷ and Prudentius⁸ speaks of Juno the wife of Jupiter and Livia as "the two Junos." But, since Juno was sister as well as wife of Jupiter, the author of the tragedy *Octavia*⁹ addresses his heroine as "second Juno, sister and spouse of Augustus."

Caligula translated the poetic fiction into fact, committed incest with his sisters, and called himself Jupiter on the strength of it.¹⁰ He assumed the title Optimus Maximus,

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 97.

² *Id. ib.*

³ Dio 56. 42. Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 389 ff.

⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 100, Dio 56. 46.

⁵ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemm.* ii. 269, pl. 60. ⁶ *Id. ib.* ii. 257, pl. 56.

⁷ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 247 ΘΕΑ.ΛΙΒΙΑ or ΛΙΒΙΑΝ.ΗΠΑΝ

⁸ Prudent. *Symmach.* 1. 292 f. duarum | Iunonum.

⁹ [Sen.] *Octav.* 224 ff. tu quoque terris altera Iuno | soror Augusti | coniunxque graves vince dolores.

¹⁰ Aur. Vict. *de Caesar.* 3. 9, *epit.* 3. 4 f., Dio 59. 26.

as though he were himself the peer of Jupiter Capitolinus, with whom he affected to hold constant and private intercourse. He had a famous Greek statue of Olympian Zeus brought to Italy, intending to replace its head by a head of himself.¹ When the ship conveying it perished in a thunderstorm, Caligula resolved to have thunder of his own. He had a bolt constructed, which could be launched by artificial means,² and used to brandish his toy, calling himself Jupiter and giving oracles from an elevated throne.³ He was also saluted as Jupiter Latiaris.⁴ His downfall was predicted by various prodigies. A statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had meant to convey to Rome, burst into a sudden laugh and scared away the workmen: whereupon a certain Cassius came up and declared that he had been warned by a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. Caligula himself, the night before Cassius Chaerea stabbed him, "dreamed that he stood in heaven before the throne of Jupiter, and that, kicked by the toe of his right foot, he was hurled down to earth."⁵ Almost the last word he spoke was when one of the conspirators asked him for his watchword and he replied "*Jupiter*."⁶

Other emperors may be dismissed more shortly. A cameo in the Marlborough cabinet shows Claudius as Jupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle all complete.⁷ L. Junius Silanus was done to death, if we may believe Seneca,⁸ simply because he dubbed his sister Juno, and so presumably might be regarded as a rival of the emperor. Coins of Vespasian and Titus represent a throne with a thunderbolt upon it and so hint at the same pretensions.⁹

¹ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

² Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 37.

³ Dio. 59. 26.

⁴ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

⁵ *Ib.* 57.

⁶ *Ib.* 58.

⁷ A. Furtwängler *Die antiken Gemmen* ii. 302, pl. 65, 48.

⁸ Sen. *apocoloc.* 8. 2. Possibly Junius Silanus recalled the origin of his own name: *supra* p. 303.

⁹ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400.

Domitian was constantly called *Jupiter* by the poets of the day,¹ sometimes by way of variation *Tonans* or "the Thunderer."² On one of his first-brasses we see Jupiter Custos seated with a thunderbolt and a spear; on another, Domitian himself holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, the spear in his left, while he is crowned by Victory from behind.³ A dedication to Hadrian as *Iovi Olympio* is extant.⁴ It was found at Parium in Mysia, and should be compared with various Greek inscriptions, which give him the titles *Zeus* and *Olympios* probably because in the year 128/129 A.D. he completed the magnificent temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens.⁵ A silver medallion of the Roman province Asia, struck about the same time, shows him standing in his character of Zeus with reversed spear, shield and eagle.⁶ Oppian⁷ speaks of Septimius Severus as "the Ausonian Zeus." A bronze coin of Claudius Gothicus, who in 269 A.D. routed an immense horde of Goths, represents the emperor as Jupiter holding a thunderbolt and a reversed spear with the inscription *Iovi Victori*.⁸ Another bronze coin struck at Heraclea in Thrace is inscribed *Iovi Conservatori*, and shows either Jupiter, or more probably Licinius as Jupiter, receiving a wreath from a small figure of Victory on an orb which he holds in his right hand, while his left hand has a sceptre, and on either side of him are placed an eagle with a wreath in its beak and a captive in bonds.⁹ But of all these later emperors he who made the most successful

¹ Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 27, Mart. *epigr.* 9. 28. 10, 9. 86. 8, 14. 1. 2, cp. Dionys. *per.* 210 οὗς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Ἀῶνος αἰχμῇ.

² Mart. *epigr.* 6. 10. 9 with Friedländer's n.

³ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400.

⁴ Dessau 320.

⁵ P. von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa i. 500, 509.

⁶ Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Antike Denkmäler* Zeus p. 98, pl. 9, 28.

⁷ Opp. *cyn.* 3.

⁸ Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *op. cit.* Zeus p. 97, pl. 9, 25.

⁹ *Id. ib.* Zeus p. 94, pl. 9, 17.

bid for the honours of Jupiter was Diocletian. He adopted the name *Iovius*, which, to judge from contemporary literature and inscriptions, was popularly applied to him as the representative of Jove.¹ "He specially adored this divinity," says Duruy,² "whose name was the beginning of his own [sc. *Dio-cletianus*]; he placed the figure of Jupiter upon his coins; . . . he built him a temple in the palace of Salona, and made it his study to appear in public ceremonies with the calm majesty of the father of gods and men."

I need not cite further details. It must be already clear that from Julius Caesar onwards the emperors of Rome were constantly treated as Jupiter incarnate. One noticeable symbol of their godhead was the oak-wreath. Coins of the gens Julia³ show the head of Pietas crowned with oak; and Pietas was equivalent to Julius Caesar, as we see from a gold coin of the same gens, which portrays a veiled head of Pietas with the features of Caesar.⁴ Over the door of Augustus and his successors an oak-wreath was regularly suspended by decree of the Senate.⁵ And the general impression produced on the public by the sight of the emperor's palace may be gathered from Ovid's⁶ couplet:

*"This is the house of Jupiter," quoth I,
Taking my cue from yonder wreath of oak.*

There was, then, much excuse for pagan Euhemerists like Ennius⁷ and for Christian apologists like Tertullian,⁸ who, viewing such practices from the vantage-ground of

¹ Aur. Vict. *de Caesar.* 39. 18, Mamertin. *paneg. in Maximian.* 13. 3, Eumen. *pro restaur. schol.* 10. 2, Claud. *de bell. Gild.* 418 f., Lact. *de mort. persecut.* 52; Dessau 621, 634, 658 f., 661, 665. See further Duruy *History of Rome* vi. 539, where a bronze medallion inscribed *Iovio Diocletiano Aug.* is figured.

² V. Duruy *loc. cit.*

³ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 17.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 16.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 372.

⁶ Ov. *trist.* 3. 1. 35 f.

⁷ Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 126 ff.

⁸ Tert. *apol.* 10 etiam Iovem ostendemus tam hominem quam ex homine.

philosophy or religion, concluded that Jupiter was *tam hominem quam ex homine*, "a man and the son of a man."

Now the early Greek king, in his office as human Zeus, controlled the sun, the rain, and the crops. The same is true of his Italian counterpart. Every year on the 21st of April the Romans celebrated the festival of the Parilia,¹ at which they leaped over bonfires probably as a charm to procure sunshine.² The day was regarded as the birthday of Rome itself, and it was said that Romulus had offered the original sacrifice and arranged the details of the ritual.³ Mr. Warde Fowler⁴ infers that the sacrificing priest at the urban Parilia was the *rex sacrorum*, a religious representative of the old Roman king. Certainly it was he who on the kalends of each month, as soon as the new moon was observed in the sky, offered a sacrifice to Juno and summoned the people to the Curia Calabra adjoining the hut of Romulus on the Capitol in order to announce to them when the nones would fall due.⁵ He thus appears to have furnished the people with both sunshine and moonshine. The ruins of his house, the Regia, show in the centre of the main apartment a circular base of grey tufa,⁶ which may have been the royal hearth. And close to the Regia stood the temple of Vesta, where the Vestal virgins watched their undying flame. The perpetual fire thus maintained under the eye of the king was, if I am right,⁷ simply a means of keeping up the sun's heat by mimetic magic. The human Jupiter was responsible for the sunlight. When Romulus vanished, the sun was

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 79 ff.

² W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte* p. 517.

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* i. 88.

⁴ W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* p. 83, n. 1.

⁵ Macrobian. *Sat.* i. 15, 9 ff.

⁶ E. Burton-Brown *Recent Excav. in the Roman Forum* p. 53 with pls. facing pp. 53 and 56, Ch. Hülsen *Das Forum Romanum* p. 154, fig. 76.

⁷ See *Folk-Lore* xv. 308 ff., *Class. Rev.* xviii. 366.

darkened;¹ and, among the portents that accompanied the death of Julius Caesar, Plutarch² mentions "the dimness of the sun, whose orb rose pale and dull throughout the whole of that year and sent down but a weak and feeble heat." The rayed crown worn by Augustus and Claudius after death, by Nero and his successors during their lifetime, was the visible emblem of the sun-god, and was certainly borrowed from representations of that deity.³ Before the birth of Augustus his father Octavius dreamt that a sunbeam issued from the womb of his mother Atia. At a later date he dreamt again that he saw his son in a laurelled chariot drawn by twelve white horses: he was of superhuman size and adorned with a rayed crown, a thunderbolt, a sceptre, and the garments of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. One night the infant Augustus vanished, and next day was found on the top of a high tower over against the sunrise.⁴ Commodus too aped the sun-god. "His hair," says Herodian,⁵ "was by nature yellow and curly, so that whenever he walked in the sunlight there flashed from it a gleam as of fire, and some supposed that he was powdered with gold dust on his way, while others regarded him as a god, affirming that a heavenly light shone about his head." A small bronze coin of Carus shows face to face the radiate head of the emperor and the radiate head of the sun-god.⁶ This conception of the emperor as a solar power may account for the fact that the Antonines and their successors used to have perpetual fire carried in front of them wherever they went.⁷

¹ Cic. *de rep.* i. 25, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, Plut. *vit. Cam.* 33, *de fort. Rom.* 8, *alib.*

² Plut. *vit. Caes.* 69, cp. Verg. *georg.* i. 466 ff., Tib. 2. 5. 75 f., Ov. *met.* 15. 785 f.

³ Beurlier *Le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* p. 48 ff.

⁴ Suet. *vit. Aug.* 94. ⁵ Herod. i. 18. ⁶ Duruy *Hist. of Rome* vi. 525.

⁷ Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 50 f., Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.* ii. 441 f.

The early Italian king was also a rain-maker. Alladius made his mock-thunderstorms till he was destroyed by a real one.¹ Aeneas, according to one authority,² disappeared in a thunderstorm, as did Romulus after him.³ Numa learnt from Jupiter Elicius how to control thunderstorms : Tullus Hostilius, who had imperfectly mastered Numa's formulae, attempted to do the same, but was thunderstruck himself by Jupiter.⁴ The pretensions of later Romans to wield the thunderbolt we have already considered.

The king, who provided the weather, was presumably responsible for the crops. His palace, the Regia, contained a shrine of Ops,⁵ an ancient goddess of fertility ; and modern excavations have brought to light a large *silo* or corn-pit in the king's courtyard.⁶ Possibly the corn-distributions of which we hear so much in republican and imperial times had their origin in a long-standing right of the people to be fed by their king.

In Italy, as in Greece,⁷ the judicial and military duties of the king were closely bound up with his position as representative of the sky-god. The king, like Jupiter, was allowed to ride in a chariot within the walls of Rome ; and from the chariot he appears to have pronounced his judgments. A *denarius* of the gens Vettia shows a man holding a sceptre, who stands in a two-horse chariot : he is inscribed IVDEX, the "judge," and behind him is placed a large ear of corn. Cavedoni and Mommsen took this personage to be king Numa engaged in distributing corn-fields : Babelon sees in him Sp. Vettius, who was *interrex* or temporary king after the death of Romulus.⁸ In any case it is probable that he delivered his verdicts from a chariot as the vice-gerent of Jupiter. The *sella curulis*

¹ *Supra* p. 288.

² [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 14. 2.

³ Liv. i. 16. 1, *alib.*

⁴ *Supra* p. 269.

⁵ Varro *de ling. Lat.* 6. 21, cp. Fest. p. 214 Lind.

⁶ E. Burton-Brown, *op. cit.* p. 57 f.

⁷ *Folk-Lore* xv. 370 ff.

⁸ Babelon, *Monn. de la rép. rom.* ii. 531 f.

or "chariot seat," on which Roman magistrates of a later date sat as judges, was a survival of this primitive usage.¹

No real distinction can be drawn between the king's sceptre and the standard of the legion: each was a staff surmounted by an eagle²; and the standard was worshipped by the soldiery³ because, like the sceptre,⁴ it symbolised Jupiter—a fact that the ancients had not forgotten.⁵ Lest its connection with the oak of the sky-god⁶ should be obscured, they sometimes placed an oak-leaf in the eagle's beak,⁷ or a golden thunderbolt in its talons.⁸ The thunderbolt on the shields of the legionaries and on the lead bullets of the slingers⁹ was likewise a token that the whole fighting force was under the command and protection of Jupiter. The king or general, if successful in battle, erected on the spot a trophy, *i.e.* an

¹ Cp. Gell. 3. 18. 3 f., Paul. *exc.* Fest. *s.v.* "currules" p. 38 Lind., Isid. *origg.* 20. 11. 11.

² Such was the sceptre of Romulus (Lyd. *de mag.* 1. 7) and the last three kings of Rome (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 61 f.). For the form of the legionary eagles see Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 674 f.

³ The eagle was kept in a portable shrine (Dio 40. 18, cp. Cic. *Cat.* 1. 24), where it received actual worship (Herod. 4. 4. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 23), being regarded as the god of the legion (Liv. 26. 48. 12, Tac. *ann.* 1. 39. 7, 2. 17. 2, *hist.* 3. 10. 7, Val. Max. 6. 1. 11, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 6. 45, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 7591).

⁴ *Supra* p. 302.

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11, Isid. *origg.* 18. 3. 2.

⁶ See *Folk-Lore* xv. 371 f. ⁷ Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 675.

⁸ Dio 43. 35, Jul. Obseq. 126; cp. the relief at Verona figured by A. von Domaszewski *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 1885 fig. 4.

A remarkable analogy to the early Roman eagle is afforded by the later *labarum*, *i.e.* the military standard adorned with the Constantinian monogram. There can be little doubt that this monogram was an adaptation of an older solar symbol, and that it was as acceptable to the Mithraic worshippers as to the Christians (W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* p. 238 ff.). It is at least possible that the much-disputed word *labarum* should be connected with *λάβρυς*, the "double-axe," which symbolised the sky-god in the Aegean area from a very remote past (E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* p. 228 n. 2).

⁹ Pauly-Wissowa ii. 317.

oak-trunk covered with votive armour,¹ and on his return to Rome triumphed in the character of the oak-Jupiter.²

A difficulty here occurs. For the trophy, which the Greeks describe as "an image of Zeus,"³ was by the Romans connected with Mars rather than with Jupiter;⁴ and the sacred spear kept in the Regia was deemed "an image of Mars" and addressed as "Mars."⁵ This difficulty, however, is only apparent. I have elsewhere⁶ maintained that Mars was but a specialised form of Jupiter. His name *Mars* or *Ma-vors* means, according to Corssen, Bezzenberger, and Solmsen,⁷ the "Battle-turner," so that he would correspond in function to the Greek Zeus *Tropaïos*⁸ or the Oscan Jupiter *Versor*.⁹ As Jupiter *Stator* was the god who "stayed" the Romans from flight,¹⁰ so Jupiter *Mavors* may have been the god who "routed" their foes. The evolution of *Mavors* as a separate deity can be precisely paralleled by that of *Ares*, a Thracian development of Zeus *Areios*.¹¹ Some of the most important cult-titles of Mars were born by Jupiter also. Thus throughout the Celtic area Mars is surnamed *Loucetius* or *Leucetius*;¹² and we have already seen that *Loucetius* or *Lucetius* was an ancient Italian synonym of Jupiter.¹³ Again, Mars was identified with *Quirinus*,¹⁴ the "oak"-god; and Jupiter himself was sometimes called

¹ Verg. *Aen.* II. 5 ff.

² *Supra* p. 307.

³ *Folk-Lore* xv. 373 n. 25.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* II. 5 ff., Claud. in *Rufin.* I. 339, cp. Babelon *Monn. de la rép. rom.* i. 509, ii. 512.

⁵ Varro *ap.* Clem. Alex. *protr.* 4. 46, Arnob. 6. 11, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 3.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 372 f. and 375.

⁷ See Solmsen *Stud. z. lat. Lautgesch.* p. 77 f.

⁸ Preller-Robert p. 140.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 642.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 682 ff.

¹¹ See Preller-Robert pp. 140 f., 335, P. Gardner in *Num. Chron.* xx. 50.

¹² Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1982 f.

¹³ *Supra* p. 261 f.

¹⁴ According to Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* I. 292, 6. 860, Myth. Vat. 3. 11. 10, Quirinus was strictly the peaceful form of Mars.

Quirinus,¹ as Janus had been before him.² The title *pater* also was common to Mars³ with Jupiter. The woodpecker, associated with Zeus on Greek soil⁴ and with Jupiter in Italy,⁵ was more commonly regarded as the bird of Mars.⁶

These are among the reasons which have led me to suppose that Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, the great triad of gods standing at the head of Roman religion and served by the "major priests" (*flamines maiores*), were but differentiated forms of one and the same deity—the sky-god who was at once the "Bright-father," the "Battle-turner," and the "Oak"-god. When the *Salii* are described as being "under the protection of Jupiter Mars Quirinus";⁷ when Decius devotes himself to death with a solemn prayer commencing "Janus, Jupiter, Mars pater, Quirinus"⁸; when Numa ordains that the first *spolia opima* should be presented to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, the third to Quirinus,⁹—we seem to witness successive stages in the evolution of this divine triad.

The king who personated the warlike oak-Jupiter must needs be a great warrior. Some of the ancients, who saw a little way but not very far into their own past, held that Romulus was called *Quirinus* because he had been presented with a *quiris* or oaken spear on account of his valour in war.¹⁰ The custom of thus rewarding martial prowess deserves more attention than it has received. It was, I believe, no mere decoration like those of modern times, but rather the bestowing of the sceptre in which the godhead was believed to reside: the man who so

¹ *Supra* p. 281 n. 9.

² *Ib.* n. 8.

³ Preller-Jordan, i. 335.

⁴ *Folk-Lore* xv. 387 n. 88, *Class. Rev.* xvii. 412, xviii. 80 f., 83 f.

⁵ In the myth of Picus and Jupiter Elicius (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 270).

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 375.

⁷ *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 8. 663.

⁸ *Liv.* 8. 9. 6.

⁹ *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 6. 860, *Plut. vit. Marcell.* 8.

¹⁰ *Plut. vit. Rom.* 29.

distinguished himself in battle as to earn the oaken spear thereby became king and kept his spear in the Regia as representative of the war-god. In favour of this surmise is the fact that the spear awarded for valour was called *hasta pura* and had no head to it. As represented on coins of the gens Arria it draws from M. Beurlier¹ the exclamation: "It is more like a sceptre than a weapon." Virgil with equal art and lore makes Silvius, the "woodland" king, son of Ascanius Iulus, the "oak-Jupiter," lean on a headless spear.²

Now in dealing with the Greeks I took occasion to illustrate Dr. Frazer's thesis that the divine king must be put to death as soon as his physical strength decays.³ The best Italian example is of course that upon which Dr. Frazer himself has laid stress, the case of the king of Nemi, who reigned as a strong man armed till a stronger than he came and slew him. But it may not be amiss to point out that there are other traces of the same custom to be detected here and there in Latin literature. In the *Casina* of Plautus Olympio,⁴ a country slave, thus accosts his master, Lysidamus:

Ol. Your love-intrigue means hate galore for me.
Your wife's my foe, your son's my foe, your friends
Are all my foes.

Lys. What difference does that make?
So long as you've one Jupiter here to help you,
Just snap your fingers at the smaller gods.

Ol. No, no, that's talk, mere talk. Why, don't you know
That human Jupiters suffer sudden death?
And, pray, if you my Jupiter should die,
And so your kingdom pass to the lesser gods,
Who'll help my back then or my head or legs?

The country slave here treats it as a matter of common knowledge "that human Jupiters come suddenly to a bad end" (*repente ut emoriantur humani Ioves*) and leave their

¹ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 41.

² *Folk-Lore* xv. 376 ff.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 760.

⁴ Plaut. *Cas.* 328 ff.

"kingdom" (*regnum*) to others. The passage gains immensely in point if, as I cannot but think probable, it refers to the slave who reigned as human Jupiter at Nemi or to others of his class. What the bad end was to which they came, we do not exactly know; but we should gather from analogy that they were beheaded and their heads hanged on the sacred oak.¹ The decapitation of a would-be immortal was a subject not unsuited to ancient satire; and we have it on the authority of Tertullian that "Varro, the Roman Cynic, introduces scores of Joves or Jupiters minus their heads" and that Roman audiences laughed aloud when in the course of a mime "the last will and testament of a defunct Jupiter was read."² Varro's notion of a Jupiter minus his head may serve to explain a somewhat difficult passage in Seneca's brilliant satire *The Pumpkinification of the divine Claudius*.³ The scene is laid in heaven, and the gods are debating what sort of divinity shall be conferred upon Claudius, who has just issued a public order for the beheading of Febris, and demanded apotheosis for himself. One of them, apparently Jupiter, says: "He can't be the Epicurean god who 'troubleth no man and is himself untroubled of any.' The Stoic god, then? But how can he be 'rotund,' as Varro puts it, 'minus his head, minus his tail'?" Ah, I see,

¹ See *Class. Rev.* xvii. 269 ff. The heads of unsuccessful combatants were hanged on the oak of king Phorbas (Philostr. *imagg.* 2. 19. 2) and decorated the palaces of king Sitho (Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 224 f.) and king Oenomaus (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 5, Philostr. jun. *imagg.* 9. 3), both of whom were probably oak-kings. On Italian soil we have the myth of the "heads and a man" demanded from the Pelasgians by the oak-Zeus of Dodona (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19), and of the "heads" required from king Numa in the oak-wood by Jupiter Elicius (Plut. *vit. Num.* 15, cp. *Class. Rev.* xvii. 270, xviii. 369). The practice of hanging human faces (*oscilla*) on sacred trees points in the same direction. A Lucanian vase shows one suspended from a tree, beneath which two men with swords are engaged in a mortal combat (S. Reinach *Rép. des vases peints* i. 486).

² Tert. *apol.* 14, 15.

³ Sen. *apocoloc.* 8. 1 f. I follow the latest text, that of Bücheler ed. 4. 1904.

there *is* something of the Stoic god about him: he has neither a heart nor a head. Assuredly, if he had craved this boon (of divinity) from Saturn, whose festive month he kept going the whole year round, our Saturnalian prince, he wouldn't have got it; and he certainly shall not from Jupiter, whom to the best of his ability he condemned on a charge of incest." Now Dr. Frazer has shown that originally the king of the Saturnalia, after personating Saturn for a month, was put to death in this capacity, and that the Christian soldier Dasius, who refused to play the part of the heathen god, was actually beheaded at Durosotolum as late as 303 A.D.¹ The foregoing extract from Seneca not only contains a manifest allusion (the one in Latin literature) to the slaying of the Saturnalian king, but also describes the enfeebled Claudius' pretensions to be Jupiter² with a sly reference to Varro's "Jupiters minus their heads," and so raises a presumption that the human Jupiter was normally beheaded in his dotage.

Doubtless there were other methods of superannuating the effete king. Livy,³ after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunderstorm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch⁴ too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius⁵ says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth. This singular variant recalls

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough* ² iii. 140 ff.

³ Liv. I. 16. 4.

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56.

² *Supra* p. 313.

⁴ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27.

the myth of Pelops, who according to Pindar¹ was caught up to heaven, but according to the common version was cut to pieces and boiled as food for the gods. In such cases it is, of course, the crude and ugly tale that is the better founded; and I sadly fear that the story of Romulus being rapt away in a thunderstorm was a pious fiction designed to conceal a far more horrible fate. Two other early kings, Aeneas and Latinus, vanished in like manner; and it is highly significant that each of them was identified after his death with Jupiter.² In the case of Aeneas, side by side with the euphemistic statement that he had been translated heavenwards in a thunderstorm, there was a substantial tradition that he had been drowned in the river Numicius, on whose banks he was offering a sacrifice.³ Very possibly the sacrifice in question was the sacrifice of himself. Again, Titus Tatius was said to have gone with Romulus to Lavinium, in order to attend a certain sacrifice incumbent upon the kings, and there to have been set upon by the comrades and relatives of some murdered Laviniate envoys and slain by them "upon the altar with the sacrificial knives and spits."⁴

It would seem, then, that the Italians, no less than the Greeks, safeguarded the physical competence of their

¹ Pind. *Ol.* i. 38 ff. Pelias too was cut to pieces and boiled by his daughters, who had been told by Medea that *they might thus restore to their father his youthful vigour* (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1848 ff.)—a circumstance which throws a flood of light on the motive of all these ritual murders and well accords with the theory propounded by Dr. Frazer (*Golden Bough* ² ii. 5 f.).

² *Supra* p. 286.

³ Tib. 2. 5. 43 f., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* i. 259, 4. 620, 7. 150, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* i. 64. [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 14. 3 f. adds that he was afterwards seen in full armour on the river-bank and therefore believed to have become immortal.

⁴ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 52. Dr. Frazer kindly drew my attention to this passage; and further suggests that the death of Metius Fuffetius, the dictator of Alba, who at the bidding of Tullus Hostilius was torn asunder by a couple of two-horse chariots (*ib.* 3. 30), bears some resemblance to the death of Hippolytus-Virbius, who was "*furiis direptus equorum*" (*Ov. fast.* 3. 265).

human Jupiters by putting them to death on the approach of old age. This custom furnishes a clue to the curious ritual of the *argei* at Rome.¹ On May 15 every year bundles of rushes resembling men bound hand and foot were taken down to the old Sublician Bridge by the pontiffs and praetors, and were thence cast into the river by the Vestal virgins. Tradition explained the rite by saying that old men, sixty years of age, used to be flung from the bridge as a sacrifice—witness the proverb *sexagenarios de ponte*—though authorities differed as to the god thereby propitiated: some thought Saturn,² some Dis Pater.³ Now one of the most remarkable features of the occasion is that the *flaminica Dialis*, or priestess of Jupiter, who usually wore bridal attire, had to be present with dishevelled hair and signs of mourning.⁴ But, as Mr. Warde Fowler points out, no mention is made of the *flamen*, her husband—a significant omission! I conclude that the *sexagenarius* originally thrown from the bridge⁵ was the superannuated *flamen Dialis*, who during the years of his vigour and maturity had been a worthy representative of Jupiter, but on reaching the age of sixty must be done to death lest by his bodily decline he should imperil the divine potency resident in him. Like Aeneas he must be drowned in the river before reaching senility.⁶ Indeed, it is not improbable that the office of *flamen Dialis* was instituted precisely in order that the said *flamen* might take upon himself the numerous taboos and unpleasant restrictions⁷ (death by drowning

¹ See Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 111 ff.

² *Ov. fast.* 5. 627, though he ascribes the institution of the rite to "oracular Jupiter" (*ib.* 626); *Dionys. ant. Rom.* 1. 38.

³ *Fest. s.v.* "sexagenarios" p. 259 Lind.

⁴ *Gell.* 10. 15, *Plut. quaestt. Rom.* 86.

⁵ *Manilius ap. Fest. loc. cit.* speaks of one, *Ovid loc. cit.* of two, *Dionysius loc. cit.* of thirty.

⁶ See further *Class. Rev.* xvii. 269 n. 2.

⁷ *Frazer Golden Bough* 2 i. 241 f.

included), which would otherwise have fallen to the king as Jupiter incarnate. It is to be noted that Romulus and Titus Tatius are the only Roman kings of whose sacrificial death there is any evidence; and that the first appointment of a *flamen Dialis* is commonly ascribed to their immediate successor Numa, who provided that he should wear magnificent apparel and sit on the royal seat.¹ He was thus an obvious substitute for the king himself, and at a banquet none save the *rex sacrorum*, or priestly king, might take precedence of him.²

Romulus and Titus Tatius stand for the old régime which was mitigated and modified by degrees.³ At first the king seems to have been liable to an attack at any moment: the king at Nemi, for example, went about with a drawn sword in his hand and the thought of death always before him. Next, such murderous assaults were limited to one day in the year. It is probable that the Roman king ruled as it were on sufferance from year to year, and that once in the twelvemonth he had to prove his powers undiminished by defending himself or being prepared to defend himself against a personal assailant. This can be inferred with much likelihood from a later usage. Once a year the Vestal virgins came to the *rex sacrorum* and addressed him in words of solemn significance: "Art thou watching, king? Watch!"⁴ Lastly, the fitness of the king to reign was yet more carefully ensured, when his tenure of office was reduced to a single year⁵ and his person duplicated by the creation of a second consul. If in times of emergency the consuls were superseded and the

¹ Liv. 1. 20. 2, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 64.

² Gell. 10. 15. 21, Fest. *s.v.* "ordo" p. 189 Lind.

³ Cp. *Folk-Lore* xv. 392 ff.

⁴ Serv. *in. Verg. Aen.* 10. 228.

⁵ The annual expulsion of Mamurius Veturius, the "Old Mars," who on the day before the Ides of March was clad in skins, beaten with rods, and turned out of Rome (Frazer *Golden Bough* ² iii. 122 f.), will—if I am right in regarding Mars as a form of Jupiter (*supra* p. 320 f.)—be a case in point.

monarchy restored to the hands of a dictator,¹ that magistrate was still further limited to a rule of six months only.²

The principle on which one Roman king succeeded to another has long been a moot question. "The election," says Mr. A. H. Greenidge,³ "was regarded as free in a far wider sense than the election of the higher magistrates at Rome; since, if we are to trust the traditional accounts, Roman citizenship was not a necessary qualification for the monarchy. Thus the non-burgess Numa, the foreigner Tarquin, the slave's son Servius, are all represented as having been elected kings of Rome." There is, indeed, only one principle wide enough to cover these very diverse claimants, *viz.* that of physical superiority. And it was precisely on that principle that king succeeded to king at Nemi: as Ovid puts it—

regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces.⁴
The strong of hand, the fleet of foot there reign.

Can the same custom be traced at Rome? On July 5 every year the Romans celebrated the old and obscure festival called the *Poplifugia*. It must have been at one time a festival of great importance, since, as Mr. Warde Fowler⁵ points out, no other festival falling before the Nones of the month is marked in large capitals on the Roman calendars. Two stories were told to account for the name. One of these connected it with the flight of the Roman army from the men of Fidenæ after the retirement of the Gauls from Rome; but this Mr. Fowler at once dismisses on the ground that the *Poplifugia* must have been far older than 390 B.C. There remains the other explanation, which interprets the festival as a memorial of the flight of the people after the disappearance of

¹ The first dictator, according to Mommsen, was Manius Valerius (Liv. 2. 18. 6), who bore a doubly well-omened name (*supra* pp. 293, 303).

² Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 632.

³ *Ib.* ii. 551.

⁴ *Ov. fast.* 3. 271.

⁵ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 174.

Romulus.¹ Romulus disappeared, according to tradition,² on July 7; but this is not an insuperable barrier to connecting the *Poplifugia* with his death, since festivals separated by an interval of one day are often related to each other.³ Indeed, Macrobius and Plutarch⁴ identify the *Poplifugia* with July 7. That the rites of the two days were not unconnected appears also from the fact that July 5 was a festival of Jupiter, July 7 a festival of Juno. Note too that the former festival was associated with the fate of Romulus at the *Caprae palus* in the Campus Martius,⁵ while the latter festival included a sacrifice to Juno *Caprotina* at the same *Caprae palus*.⁶ With regard to the rites themselves, we are told by Varro that on July 5 there were "certain traces of a flight" (*aliquot vestigia fugae*); and, if we may venture with Merkel to identify the *Poplifugia* with the *Fugalia*, it was a time of much license.⁷ That certainly was the character of July 7, when the handmaids of Rome wore their mistresses' robes, jibed at the passers-by, had a free fight among themselves with fisticuffs and stones, and sat down to a banquet under the boughs of a fig-tree, while the mob in general thronged forth from the city-gates with shouts of "Gaius," "Marcus," "Lucius," etc. Some took all this to be a mimic flight or rout; others, a sign of energy and haste.⁸ On the whole, it seems probable that the proceedings of both days were a survival of the primitive mode of electing the Roman king. The people had a foot-race (*Poplifugia*) to determine who was

¹ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56.

² Cic. *de rep.* 1. 16, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27.

³ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 174 quoting Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i. (Fasti) 321 (on July 7).

⁴ Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 2. 14, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, *vit. Cam.* 33.

⁵ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27.

⁶ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 18, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 11. 36, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29.

⁷ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 2. 6.

⁸ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, *vit. Cam.* 33.

most competent from a physical point of view, and subsequently made their choice by acclamation, greeting this or that favourite with cries of "Gaius," "Marcus," etc. The simultaneous strife of the women may have been to select a fitting partner for the king.

It is impossible to discuss the *Poplifugia* without also considering the *Regifugium*, another ancient festival celebrated yearly at Rome on February 24. It was popularly supposed to commemorate the expulsion of the Tarquins;¹ but a mutilated gloss in Festus rejects this explanation, and refers to "a sacrifice in [the Comitium] performed by [the king] and the Salii on [February] 24."² Plutarch³ further states: "There is a certain ancestral sacrifice in the Forum at the Comitium, as it is called, which the king offers, and having offered flees with all haste from the Forum." Plutarch, however, need not be alluding to the *Regifugium* of February 24; for there are two other days in the year, *viz.* March 24 and May 24, which in the stone calendars are marked Q.R.C.F. These letters probably denote, as Varro⁴ says, *quando rex comitiavit fas*, or 'business may be transacted when the king has been to the Comitium.' But Varro goes on to say that on such days the priestly king sacrificed at the Comitium. And a note appended to March 24 in the Praenestine calendar⁵ runs: "Most persons wrongly hold that this day is described as Q.R.C.F. because on it the king fled from the Comitium. But Tarquin did not depart from the Comitium, and the same rites take place in another month also." It is, then, highly probable that on February 24, and quite possible that on March 24 and May 24, the

¹ *Ov. fast.* 2. 685 ff., Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 137 Lind.

² See Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 327 ff.

³ Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 63.

⁴ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 31, adopting Hirschfeld's conjecture "litat ad comitium" for the meaningless "dicat ad comitium" of the MSS.

⁵ Orelli ii. 386 and 409 f.

rex sacrorum after performing a sacrifice in the Comitium had to make his escape at full speed. I incline to accept Dr. Frazer's¹ conjecture "that he was originally one of those divine kings who are either put to death after a fixed period or allowed to prove by the strong hand or the fleet foot that their divinity is vigorous and unimpaired."² If on the same day of February, March, and May he was expected to run his race, it is possible that in early times his probation was a monthly affair. The Etruscans, we know, were even more solicitous about the health of their king, who likewise personated the sky-god³; for, says Macrobius,⁴ "the Etruscans observed several Nones, inasmuch as every ninth day they used to bid their king all hail and to consult about their own business." The same principle perhaps underlies the Roman system of *Nones* and *Nundinae*. On the Nones, according to Varro,⁵ "the folk used to come into town from the country to their king"; and he adds that a trace of the gathering still exists in the *sacra Nonalia*, when the priestly king proclaims to the people on the Arx the chief festivals of the month. No doubt these gatherings of country-folk occasioned the regular *Nundinae* or market-days of Rome. But their origin was religious rather than secular: Granius Licinianus declared that all *Nundinae* were festivals of Jupiter, because on them the *flaminica* in the old Palace sacrificed a ram to that deity.⁶ Servius Tullius was said to have been born on the Nones; but, since the month was uncertain, all Nones alike were regarded as his birthday, and celebrated by

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough* ² ii. 67.

² [May not the flight of the king from the altar have been due to the need of escaping before the descent of the deity to partake of the sacrifice? The idea that it would be dangerous to see the face of a supernatural being is widely-spread, and in the case of a Lightning-god such a dread would be mere common-sense.—ED.]

³ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 f.

⁵ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 28.

⁴ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 15. 13.

⁶ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16. 30.

throng of people.¹ After the kings had been driven out there was a danger lest these crowds should demand a fresh king on one of the Nones,² and consequently the *Nundinae* were severed from the *Nonae*.³ If the Nones were, as I suppose, a critical day for the king, we can understand not only the belief that all the Nones were birthdays of Servius Tullius, but also the tradition that Romulus vanished on the Nones, and perhaps even Augustus' superstitious avoidance of serious business on that day.⁴ In eight months of the year the Nones fell on the fifth day, according to Roman reckoning, from the Kalends; and we have seen that even in July, when the Nones fell on the seventh, the fifth was the *Poplifugia*, a red-letter day for the king. Moreover, the day after the Kalends, Nones, or Ides was called a "black day," and it was not lawful on it to utter the name of Janus or Jupiter,⁵ while the fifth day before every such "black day" was also avoided as a day of evil omen.⁶ It is just possible that the importance thus attached to the fifth day corresponds to a halving of the nine-day period. If so, the singular republican system of *interreges* or temporary kings, each of whom reigned for five days and then appointed his successor, on one occasion⁷ as many as fourteen being so nominated,—this system may have been a reversion to monarchy of the most jealously guarded kind.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹ Another account (Fest. s.v. "servorum dies" p. 262 Lind., Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 100) made Servius' birthday fall on the Ides of August, which was also known as the birthday of Diana (Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 198).

² A point which favours my interpretation of the *Nonae Caprotinae*: *supra* p. 329 f.

³ Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 13. 18.

⁴ Suet. *vit. Aug.* 92.

⁵ Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 16. 25, Gell. 5. 17. 1 f.

⁶ Macrobian. *ib.* 1. 16. 26, Gell. 5. 17. 3 ff.

⁷ Liv. 8. 23. 17.



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A Correction: The European Sky-God. III: The Italians

Author(s): Arthur Bernard Cook

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unplaited again by reversing the dance. I do not know how the pole was kept upright. I think there were some grown-up people with them—men. Some musical instrument was played, but I do not remember what. They performed two or three times in different parts of the town. It was usual to give all the school-children a holiday on May Day.

ALICE OLDKNOW.

Kensington.

This performance is not uncommon in North Staffordshire, but the pole is usually planted firmly in the ground, not carried about. I saw it first at Talk o' th' Hill in 1878 or 1879, on the occasion of a village fête; but I have never been able to trace it properly. I think, however, it is indigenous there, though it has now become common in other parts of England, introduced, as Miss Peacock says, by school-teachers and others.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

A CORRECTION.

I ask for space to correct an oversight in my article on *The European Sky-God*, No. III. It was towards the close of 1902, not 1903, as printed on page 288 (line 5 from bottom), that Dr. Frazer told me of his revised theory as to the *rex Nemorensis*. That communication preceded my further investigations into the subject, some of which were published in 1903. The date of the conversation is therefore not altogether unimportant.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE LEGEND OF MERLIN: A POSTSCRIPT.

(*Ante*, p. 427.)

What Miss Weston brings forward does not touch the question which I am discussing. She offers no evidence of the secular



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The European Sky-God. IV. The Celts

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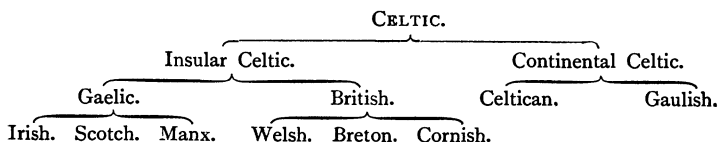
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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

IV. THE CELTS (p. 1).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

IN dealing with the sky-god as he appears in the Celtic area it will be convenient to follow the distinction usually drawn between Insular and Continental Celts. It should of course be borne in mind that this distinction is not one of race¹ at all, but is primarily one of language and secondarily one of culture. That, however, does not affect our conclusions, since religion normally varies with language and with the other elements that go to make up the complex of civilisation rather than with race in the strictly anthropological sense of the term. From a linguistic point of view, then, the following divisions and subdivisions of the Celts are made²:



I shall consider the case of the Insular Celts before that of the Continental Celts, because the evidence

¹The most convenient summary of the Celtic question in its relation to race will be found in W. Z. Ripley *The Races of Europe* New York 1899 pp. 124-128. See also J. Deniker *The Races of Man* London 1900 p. 347 f., A. H. Keane *Ethnology* Cambridge 1896 pp. 378 f., 397, 405 f., *Man Past and Present* Cambridge 1900 pp. 463, 523 ff.

²K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 12 f. This is the grouping commonly adopted

relating to the former is, thanks to their still extant literature, far more certain and complete than the evidence relating to the latter.

The Insular Celts.

A position partly analogous to that of Zeus in Greek mythology is occupied by a god called Nuada in Irish mythology.¹ As Zeus was king of the Olympian gods, so Nuada was king of the Tuatha Dé Danann or 'Tribes of the goddess Danu'—a name given to the Irish gods collectively as descendants of the goddess Danu. Again, as Zeus had to fight the Giants and Titans, so Nuada had to fight first the Fir Bolg, or 'Bag Men,' and then the Fomore, monstrous gods of darkness and death.² The comparison can be pressed further. For, though Zeus was at first successful in his struggle with Typhon, owing to his thunderbolts and his adamant sickle, yet in the end Typhon wrested the said sickle from him and, having cut out the sinews of his hands and feet, carried off the god on his shoulders to the Corycian cave: here Zeus was guarded by the snake Delphyne till Hermes and Aegipan contrived to steal the divine sinews, which Typhon had wrapped in a bear's skin for

by philologists. I have extended it by including the suggestion of Prof. J. Rhys (*Celtæ and Galli* p. 55 ff., extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 2) that 'Celtic' should be distinguished from 'Gaulish': a similar cleavage between a *qu-* and a *p-*dialect is recognised by H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 167 f.

¹The analogy is pointed out by Prof. J. Rhys *The Hibbert Lectures 1886* 'On the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom' ed. 3 1898 p. 119 ff., Prof. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Celtes* Paris 1904 p. 33 f.

²The Fir Bolg were human and quasi-historical foes; the Fomore were divine and mythical. The legend of the second battle of Mag-Tured, that against the Fomore, appears to be much more ancient than the legend of the first battle of Mag-Tured, that against the Fir Bolg: see D'Arbois *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 156 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 p. 75 ff.

safety's sake, and so restored the ruler of Olympus to strength and victory once more.¹ In much the same way Nuada at the first battle of Mag-Tured engaged in single fight with a Fir Bolg champion called Sreng, the 'Strong,' who shore off his right fore-arm and half his shield. Since, according to Irish notions, the king must not be in any way halt or maimed,² Nuada had perforce to retire from his kingship, which passed to Bres a chief of the Fomore. But Bres in the course of the next seven years proved himself so churlish and illiberal that Cairpré, son of Ogma, satirised his lack of hospitality. This satire caused great red blotches to break out over the face of Bres, who thus in his turn received a blemish that unfitted him for the post of king. Meantime the injured Nuada had got made for himself by Dian-Cecht, the leech of the gods, and by Creidné, their worker in bronze, an artificially jointed hand of silver. The metallic hand caused his wrist to fester—a mischief cured by Miach, son of Dian-Cecht, who dug up Nuada's original hand and united it to the stump by means of the incantation: 'Sinew to sinew and nerve to nerve be joined!' Thus renovated Nuada resumed his throne, being known thenceforward as Nuada Argat-lám or Nuada 'of the Silver Hand.'³ As such he reigned another twenty years till the second battle of Mag-Tured, at which he was killed by Balar Balcbéimnech, 'of the Mighty Blows,' with a flash of his evil eye.

¹ Apollodor. i. 6. 3, cp. Nonn. *Dionys.* i. 362 ff.

² *Senchus Mór* i. 73 cited by Rhŷs *Celtic Britain* London 1884 p. 63, n. 1. E. O'Curry *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* Dublin 1861 p. 48, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* Dublin 1873 iii. 197 f., tells how Cormac mac Airt had to quit the office of king on losing his eye. Cp. P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 43, 311. For Greek and Italian parallels see *Folk-lore* xv. 374 ff., xvi. 328.

³ The episode of Miach and the hand of flesh is apparently later than that of Dian-Cecht and the hand of silver: see D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 394 f.

What was the original character and significance of Nuada? The Tuatha Dé Danann, over whom he ruled, are said to have come to Ireland enveloped in clouds or borne on the wings of the wind; and, according to the oldest version of the tale, it was from the sky that they descended upon the favoured land.¹ On this showing Nuada was a sky-god of some sort. Further, they reached Ireland on May 1, the feast of Beltaine, the first day of the Celtic summer; and the battle in which Nuada was slain began on November 1, the feast of Samain, the first day of the Celtic winter.² This suggests that Nuada was a god of the summer sky. Lastly, the ritual of Beltaine, when the druids of Erin made two fires and drove cattle between them as a safeguard against the diseases of the year,³ and the ritual of Samain, at which all the hearths in Ireland were supplied with fresh fire from a common centre at Tlachtga,⁴ are almost certainly solar,⁵ and support Professor Rhys' contention that Nuada was somehow connected with the sun.⁶

Among the Greeks Zeus the sky-god became Zeus the storm-god and so passed by easy transitions into a god of rivers and even of the sea.⁷ Similarly among the Italians Jupiter was sky-god, storm-god, river-god, sea-god.⁸ Possibly the Irish Nuada underwent the same successive changes. His powers as a storm-god are perhaps attested by the tradition of his invincible sword,⁹ which, like the sword of Zeus Chrysaorios, Zeus

¹ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* pp. 141 f., 159.

² *Id. ib.* pp. 158, 180.

³ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 520.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 515, W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 i. 280 f.

⁵ J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* ed. 2 1900 iii. 300 ff.

⁶ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 124 'a divinity of the sun and of light.'

⁷ *Folk-lore* xv. 265 ff.

⁸ *Ib.* xvi. 260 ff.

⁹ *The Battle of Mag Tured* 5 in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* Paris 1892 i. 403.

Labrandeus,¹ etc., may have symbolised the lightning. More certain is the conception of him as a river-god or sea-god; for the Boyne was called the fore-arm of Nuada's wife,² Nuada being thus regarded as the husband of the river.³ Moreover, the Boyne was said to have burst forth from a sacred well once owned by a mythical being named Nechta or Nechtan.⁴ This name is related to the Irish *nigim* 'I wash,' *negar* 'he washes,' and other kindred forms such as the Anglo-Saxon *nicor*, 'a water-monster' or 'crocodile,' and the German *Nix*, 'a sea-beast' or 'sea-spirit.'⁵ When, therefore, a monarch Nuada Necht is mentioned as an ancestor of the kings of Leinster in 110 B.C.,⁶ it becomes highly probable that Nuada the sky-god was identified with Nechta the water-spirit from whose well issued the Boyne.

Zeus and Jupiter were not only sky-gods and water-gods, but earth-gods as well.⁷ I do not know of any evidence to show that Nuada was ever specialised as an earth-god. But the world of waters in Celtic mythology largely corresponds to the chthonian realm of the Greeks and Romans⁸; and, if Nuada was a god of the waters,

¹ *Classical Review* xvii. 417.

² Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 129.

³ *Id.* *Celtic Britain* p. 263.

⁴ *Id.* *Hibbert Lectures* p. 122 f., Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 284, who state that the well, now called Trinity Well, is at the foot of Side Nechtain (Carbury Hill) in county Kildare.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 123 n. 2, Whitley Stokes *Goidelica* p. 133, A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Nect-a(g)nos, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* s.v. Nix.

⁶ O'Curry *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* p. 706, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 53, Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 122. In the *Cóir Anmann* 188 (Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 368 f.) Nuada Necht is derived 'from *nix*, because Nuada Necht was as white as snow' or 'from *nox* ... for Nuada was the first to plunder by night in Erin.' But the derivations propounded in the *Cóir Anmann* are frequently absurd (Stokes *ib.* p. 285).

⁷ *Folk-lore* xv. 274 ff., xvi. 273.

⁸ Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 48, 261, 270.

he was *ipso facto* subterranean in character. It should be noted in this connexion that Nuada, when slain by Balar, was buried in a tumulus called Grianan Aileach or the 'Sun-bower¹ of Aileach,' which is still to be seen on the base of the Inishowen Peninsula between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle.² Tradition has it 'that a thousand armed men sit resting there on their swords, and bound by magic sleep till they are to be called forth to take their part in the struggle for the restoration of Erin's freedom. At intervals they awake, it is said, and looking up from their trance they ask in tones which solemnly resound through the many chambers of the Grianan: "Is the time come?" A loud voice, that of the spiritual caretaker, is heard to reply: "The time is not yet." They resume their former posture and sink into their sleep again.'³

I have already shown that in early days Greek kings were treated as embodiments of Zeus,⁴ Latin kings as embodiments of Jupiter.⁵ By parity of reasoning we might expect to find that Irish kings were regarded as embodiments of Nuada. And this seems actually to have been the case. Observe, in the first place, that Nuada is described not merely as king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, but also as king of Ireland. As such he reigned at Tara for twenty years,⁶ being reputed the son of Echtach mac Edarlamh.⁷ Even more circumstantial is what the *Cóir Anmann* or treatise on 'Fitness of Names' says of Irél Fáith: 'He was a prophet (fáith),

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 145.

² Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 122, 157.

³ Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* ii. 481 f.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xv. 299 ff.

⁵ *Ib.* xvi. 285 ff.

⁶ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 418 ff., *Cycle mythologique* p. 172 ff.

⁷ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* London 1892 ii. 476, 522, from the *Book of Ballymote*. G. Keating *The History of Ireland* i. 12 (trans. by D. Comyn in *Irish Texts Society* London 1902 iv. 221) carries his genealogy back for eleven generations.

he was a champion, and he was king of Ireland afterwards. And 'tis he that was the Nuada *Airgetlám* ('Silverhand') of the sons of Míl.¹ This remarkable statement presumably means that the Milesian king Irel was deemed an incarnation of the god Nuada.

Irel Fáith was not the only king that bore the name of Nuada. Nuada Finn fáil, 'of the White Wall,' is said to have reigned over Ireland in 962 B.C., nine centuries after the landing of Nuada Argat-lám.² Nuada Fullon, 'the Beautiful,' was king of Leinster about 600 B.C.³ Nuada Necht was the last king of Ireland before the Christian era.⁴ 'Old Nuada the Sage' was king of Leinster in the seventh century A.D.⁵ The same name Nuada was borne by a whole series of distinguished persons, royal or druidical, in Irish legend. Nuada was a famous warrior of Ulster, whose shield hung in the Castle of Diverse Hues.⁶ Nuada was the chief druid of Cathair the Great, supreme king of Ireland in the second century A.D., and in that capacity built himself a castle at Almu in Leinster, covering it with alum (*alamu*) till it was white all over.⁷ Nuada Deg-lámh,

¹ *Cóir Anmann* 79 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 326 f.

² O'Curry *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* p. 83. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 122 treats Nuada Finn fáil as a doublet of Nuada Argat-lám, since in both cases a king called Nuada was succeeded by a king bearing the unusual name of Bres.

³ O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 204. Cp. *Cóir Anmann* 183 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 366 f.

⁴ Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 68 f.

⁵ *Id. ib.* ii. 7, 96, 225.

⁶ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* i. 10.

⁷ *Id. ib.* i. 379 ff. See further D'Arbois *Introduction à l'étude de la littérature celtique* Paris 1883 p. 196, *id. La civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'épopée homérique* Paris 1899 p. 106 f., Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 88, ii. 63. Is the correspondence between the name of Nuada Finn fáil and this action of Nuada the Druid merely accidental? Nuada Necht was said to be 'as white as snow' (*supra* p. 31 n. 6). Among the Gauls, the priest cutting mistletoe wore a white robe, the plant was caught in a white cloth, and the ceremony was accompanied by the sacrifice

'the Good-handed,'¹ bore a name that recalls Nuada 'the Silver-handed': he had a son Anbechtach, of whom we are told that he was called Glas because 'blue (*glas*) were his face and his countenance usually.'² Glais, the son of Nuadat-fail, *alias* Glachs, the son of Noethach-fail, was an early ancestor of the Scottish kings.³ Nuada Derg, 'the Red,' was nephew of Loegaire king of Ireland and attempted the life of St. Patrick.⁴ Nuada Find Feimin was reared at Findmag Feimin and bore the divine⁵ or princely name of Ailill Oll-cháin.⁶ Nuada Sálfota or 'Long-Heel' was a famous rath-builder, who had the strength of a hundred and could eat the fill of fifty.⁷ Nuadha O'Lomthuilé was a poet, who described the battle of Almhain in 718 A.D.⁸ A poem by Mac Fírbis of Lecan mentions a certain O'Nuadan of Calraighe Laithim near Sligo.⁹ Finally, to come down to modern times, Dr. O'Donovan remarks that the family Mac Nowd or Gnoud is descended from an ancestor named Nuada.¹⁰

How comes it that all these kings and quasi-kings, bore the name of Nuada the sky-god and water-god?

of two white bulls (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 250 f.); the herb *selago* too must be plucked by one wearing a white robe (Plin. *ib.* 24. 103). Irish druids likewise sacrificed white bulls (D'Arbois *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 p. 100); and the whitened walls of their houses may have had some sacred significance.

¹ *Cóir Anmann* 7 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 290 f.

² *Ib.* 8.

³ W. F. Skene *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* Edinburgh 1867 pp. 134, 144.

⁴ D'Arbois *Introduction à la littérature celtique* pp. 271 f., 315.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 138.

⁶ *Cóir Anmann* 82 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 326 f.

⁷ *Cóir Anmann* 36-40 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 300 ff.

⁸ O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 391.

⁹ J. O'Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 276.

¹⁰ O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dict.* with a Supplement by J. O'Donovan p. 683 s. v. 'Nuada.'

Simply because the king or quasi-king was regarded as Nuada incarnate. Moreover, there is reason to think that this was no exceptional or fortuitous honour. For the name of Nuada was sometimes used as a common substantive to denote 'king'. In the early Gaelic saga entitled 'The Feast of Bricriu' (*Fled Bricrend*) the word occurs in the genitive case *nuadat* glossed by *in rí*, that is, 'of the king'.¹ Such a linguistic usage points back to a primitive period in which any and every Irish king might claim to be a man-god and style himself Nuada.

Professor Rhys was at one time disposed to regard a whole succession of early Irish kings—Cormac, Conaire, Conchobar, etc.—as so many different forms of the Celtic Zeus.² Since then, as he kindly informs me by letter,³ he has been to a large extent persuaded that he had treated as mythological many characters, which now seem to him to have been historical. I would venture to suggest that they were *both*—I mean, that such personages were traditional or even historical kings, who, in accordance with the beliefs of their day, posed as embodiments of the Irish sky-god. They would thus be brought into line with the early Greek kings, who claimed to be Zeus, and the early Italian kings, who were dubbed Jupiter.

The Irish Nuada corresponds to the Welsh Nudd,⁴ of whom little is known except that he was the father of Gwynn, Edern, and Owein.⁵ Nudd, however, like Nuada, gave his name to sundry mortal monarchs. A Welsh manuscript,⁶ which purports to contain the 'Descent

¹ G. Henderson *Fled Bricrend* (*Irish Texts Society* vol. ii) pp. 88, 177.

² Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 133 ff.

³ Dated Nov. 30, 1905.

⁴ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 125, *Celtic Britain* p. 263.

⁵ J. Loth *Les Mabinogion* Paris 1889 ii. 381 Index.

⁶ MS. Hengwrt 536 in W. F. Skene *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* Edinburgh 1868 ii. 455, cp. i. 168, 355.

of the Men of the North,' records—'Gwendoleu and Nud and Cof, sons of Keidyaw son of Arthwys son of Mar son of Keneu son of Coel.' According to the Venedotian code of the old Welsh laws,¹ the chiefs of the Men of the North, who came to avenge the death of Elidyr Muhenvaur, were Clyddno Eiddin, Nudd Hael, son of Senyllt, Mordaf Hael, son of Seruari, and Rydderch Hael, son of Tudwal Tudglyd. A Welsh Triad² mentions this same Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, along with his comrades Rydderch Hael, son of Tutwal Tutclyt, and Mordav Hael, son of Serwan as the 'three Generous Men of the Isle of Britain.' Another Triad³ states that Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, had a herd of 20,001 cows, kept for him by Llawvrodedd Varvawc. An inscription found at Warrior's Rest, near Yarrow in Selkirkshire, and first accurately copied by Professor Rhys,⁴ runs as follows:

HIC MEMORIAE ET

[BE]LLO INFIGNIFIMI PRINCI

PES. NVdl.

dVMNOGENI. HIC IACENT

IN TYMVLO ·dVO FILII

LIBERALIF

Here Nudos' princely offspring rest,

Dear to fame, in battle brave,

Two sons of a Bounteous sire,

Dumnonians, in their grave.

While some details of this inscription are debateable, it is clear that it commemorates two sons of a certain

¹ *Id. ib.* i. 174, cp. i. 338.

² Loth *Mabinogion* ii. 235 f.

³ *Id. ib.* ii. 296. Prof. Rhys has kindly sent me the following translation of the Triad: 'Three clan herdsmen of the Island of Prydain: Bennren herdsmen in Gorwenydd, that kept the herd of Caradawc son of Bran and his clan, and in that herd the number of milch cows was 20,001; second, Gwydion son of Don, that kept the clan herd of Gwynedd above (= west of) the Conwy, and of that herd the number was 20,001 milch cows; third, Llawfrodedd the Bearded that herded the cattle of Nudd the Bounteous (Nudd Hael) son of Senyllt, and of that herd the number was 20,001 milch cows'.

⁴ Rhys in *Y Cymmrodor* 1905 xviii. 5 ff. argues that the inscription contains two accentual hexameters and dates from the latter part of the sixth century A.D. I quote his metrical rendering.

Nudos Liberalis, king of the Northern Dumnonii. Professor Rhys¹ shows that *Nudos Liberalis* is nothing but a late Latin translation of *Nudd Hael*, 'Nudd the Generous,' and points out that Dyvnwal, one of the ancestors of Nudd Hael,² represents an earlier **Dumnoval* and so squares with the remaining name *Dumno-genus*. He very justly infers that *Hael* or *Liberalis* was a standing epithet or surname in Nudd's family, and argues that Nudd's generosity is doubtless to be added to the attributes of the god whose name he bore. I would further remark that in a religious or quasi-religious poem entitled 'The Pleasant Things of Taliessin' we read :

'Pleasant is Nud, the superior wolf-lord ;
Also pleasant the Generous one of the feast of *Golystaf*.'³

The juxtaposition of 'Nud' and 'Generous' can hardly be accidental ; and the couplet assures us that the generosity of the god was especially manifested at some festival or other.

For our purpose the material fact is that Welsh kings of Northern extraction bore the name and shared the attributes of the god Nudd. They are thus strictly analogous to the Irish kings that were named after the god Nuada. To complete the parallel, it should be shown that Nudd, like Nuada, was at once a sky-god connected with the sun and a water-god connected with a river. Fortunately on this point too there is evidence available.

To M. Gaidoz⁴ belongs the credit of first identifying

¹ Rhys in *The Academy* 1891 pt. 2 p. 180 f., *Celtic Folklore* ii. 447 f., *Hibbert Lectures* p. 128. Dr. Whitley Stokes in Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. 'Nudus,' accepts the equation *Nudus* = *Nudd*.

² Skene *Four Ancient Books* i. 169.

³ Skene *ib.* i. 550 translates the second line 'Also pleasant, a generous one at Candlemas tide.' But Prof. Rhys informs me that the name of the feast is obscure to him, and would render 'Also pleasant a (or the) generous one of the feast of —.'

⁴ See D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 155 n. 2.

with *Nuada* a god whose name occurs in Roman inscriptions from Gloucestershire and Carmarthen under the forms *Nodonti*, *Nodenti*, *Nudente*, *Nu[d]inti*. A sanctuary of this deity is still to be seen in Lydney Park some eight miles east of Chepstow. Excavations begun here by the Right Hon. C. Bathurst in 1805 brought to light a precinct bounded by a solid wall and enclosing the foundations of (*a*) a temple and (*b*) a large villa or palace built in two wings, apparently of different dates, with a paved court between them. The excavator¹ rightly recognised the former as the temple of Nodons or Nodens by means of three inscribed votive tablets found within it;² and conjectured that the latter was the residence of the principal military commander of the district.

The first thing that strikes us in considering this complex of buildings is their unusual, not to say unique, arrangement. A divine temple and a royal house side by side within a single enclosure! It is only when we remember *Nuada* the god and *Nuada* the king, or *Nudd* the God and *Nudd Hael* the king, that the combination becomes intelligible. *Nodons*, a Gaelic deity corresponding to *Nuada* and *Nudd*, was presumably represented on the spot by a priestly king, whose wealthy residence was a standing proof of the god's generosity.

Closer inspection of the buildings and of sundry monuments found in them deepens our conviction that

¹ *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, being a posthumous work of the Rev. W. H. Bathurst, with notes by C. W. King. London 1879 pp. 5, 12.

² *Lydney Park* pl. 20, 1 a bronze plate *pointillé* D · M · NODONTI | FL · BLANDINVS | ARMATVRA | V · S · L · M (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* vii. no. 138). Pl. 20, 2 a bronze plate bearing the figure of a wolf (or perhaps a dog) and inscribed PECTILLVS | VOTVM QVOD | PROMISSIT | DEO NVDENTE | M · DEDIT (*C.I.L.* vii. 139). Pl. 20, 3 a sheet of lead scratched DEVO | NODENTI SILVLANVS | ANILVM PERDEDIT | DEMEDIAM PARTEM | DONAVIT NODENTI | INTER QVIBVS NOMEN | SENICIANI NOLLIS | PETMITTAS SANITA | TEM DONEC PERFERAZ | USQVE TEMPLVM NO|DENTIS (*C.I.L.* vii. 140).

Nodons was the counterpart of Nuada or Nudd, and that he too had his human viceroy. The temple has a *cella* divided, like that of the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome, into three *cellae*. This may be taken to imply that Nodons was the Jupiter Optimus Maximus of the locality—a suggestion borne out by one of the votive inscriptions mentioned above:

D · M · NODONTI
d(eo) m(agno) Nodonti

and by the inscription worked into the mosaic pavement of the *cella*, which seems to have begun with the letters, now damaged:

D M N
d(eo) m(agno) N(odonti).¹

This mosaic was dedicated to the god by Flavius Senilis, an officer in command of the fleet stationed at the mouth of the Severn.² It is framed in an elaborate border representing in red, blue, and white two water-monsters with intertwined necks and a number of salmon.³ The water-monsters recall Nuada's association with the Boyne and with Nechta the water-spirit from whose well it burst forth.⁴ Nor are the salmon less significant: for not only was Nechta's well inhabited by divine and omniscient salmon,⁵ but also Eogan Táidlech, 'the Splendid,' who wore a shining mantle made of the

¹ I follow the readings of E. Hübner as given in his article 'Das Heiligtum des Nodon' in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* Bonn 1879 Heft lxvi. pp. 29-46, which corrects and supplements the account that he had published six years earlier in the *C.I.L.* vii. p. 42 f. Mr. C. W. King in *Lydney Park* p. 46 takes the letter M, perhaps rightly, to denote *m(aximo)*, a yet closer approximation to the title of Jupiter.

² He describes himself in his inscription as PR RLL, which Mommsen, relying on Orelli-Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 6872 *praepositi reliquationis class. praet. Misenat*, deciphered as *praepositus reliquationis*.

³ *Lydney Park* pl. 8.

⁴ *Supra* p. 31.

⁵ Rhys Hibbert *Lectures* p. 553 ff. well compares with them the sapient salmon of Llyn Llyw, connected with the Severn by the story of *Kilhwach and Olwen*.

woollen covering of a particoloured salmon, was known as *Mog Nuadat* or 'Nuada's Slave.'¹ In fact, Nodons, like Nuada, was a Jupiter and a Neptune rolled into one. Possibly he was a Pluto too: for right in the middle of Flavius' inscription space is left for a circular hole or funnel 9 inches wide, surrounded by concentric bands of red, blue, and white *tesserae*; it leads downwards directly into the earth, and at the bottom of it was found a bronze dog, the legs of which were joined together with lead.² The find is noteworthy, since in and around the temple a whole series of wolves or dogs came to light, seven in bronze, six at least in a coarse freestone.³ The dog was probably a surrogate for the wolf; and both alike remind us of Taliessin's description of Nudd as 'the superior wolf-lord.' His further reference to 'the Generous one' may likewise have been applicable to Nodons: for a stone statuette of Fortuna, seated, with a cornucopia in her left hand, was among the very few pieces of sculpture found at Lydney.⁴ In short it appears that Nodons, so far as his character can be determined from the remains of his temple, bore a decided resemblance both to Nuada and to Nudd.

That he, like them, was represented by a priestly king is no less probable. For the most important clue to the cult at Lydney is a crown or diadem of thin beaten bronze, made with five points and adorned with figures characteristic of the god.⁵ In the centre stands a beard-

¹ *Cóir Anmann* 36-40 in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iii. 300 ff.

² *Lydney Park*, p. 14.

³ C. W. King *Lydney Park* p. 46 thinks that two of the series are undoubtedly wolves (*ib.* pl. 20, 2 and pl. 27, 10) and two dogs (*ib.* pl. 27, 3 and pl. 30, 3). The Rev. W. H. Bathurst classed them all as 'dogs' (*ib.* p. 14). Hübner (*op. cit.* p. 34) says: 'Ob das Thier ein Hund oder ein Wolf ist, wird sich schwer entscheiden lassen.'

⁴ Hübner *op. cit.* p. 44: King *Lydney Park* p. 43, pl. 19, erroneously makes it a statuette of Ceres.

⁵ *Lydney Park* pl. 13.

less god facing us as he drives a four-horse chariot: he is clad in *tunica* and *chlamys*, with a four-spiked or rayed crown on his head and a club (?)¹ in his right hand. The whole figure is obviously borrowed from the conventional representations of the sun-god. To right and left of him hover a couple of winged boys holding the end of a fluttering *chlamys* in one hand, a leaf-shaped fan and a conch-shell respectively in the other: they are probably intended for the Winds, possibly for the Seasons. Again to right and left of these come two fish-tailed Tritons, one of whom grasps a couple of paddles, the other an anchor and a shell-trumpet:² these Tritons have the forefeet of horses. A second and smaller piece of a similar diadem, or perhaps the back-piece of the same, shows a fish-tailed Triton with horse's forelegs, grasping an anchor in his right hand, while with his left he brandishes a club, or else winds a blast on his conch-shell. Close to him sits a fisherman with a pointed cap, in the act of hooking a magnificent salmon. Now this diadem in all probability belonged either to the god or to his officiating priest; and it may well have marked the latter as a kingly representative of the former—a visible embodiment of Nodons, who was at once sky-god and water-god, if not earth-god also.

Over what area Nodons and his name-sake priest were recognised, can hardly be determined. Professor Rhys³ draws attention to an old inscribed stone at Cynwyl Gaeo in Carmarthenshire, which gives us a Latin genitive

¹According to King (*ib.* p. 40), a sceptre: Hübner (*op. cit.* p. 45) suggests a shell-trumpet, or a whip.

²So King (*loc. cit.*): Hübner (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the paddles may be double-axes with crescentic blades.

³Rhys *Studies in Early Irish History* p. 16 n., extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 1. Professor Rhys had previously published the inscription in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* ed. 2 London 1879 p. 391 as follows—*Regin::: Filius Nu[v]inti*—adding: 'The first name is now incomplete, but so much of it as can be read corresponds to the later name Regin, Rein.' May we infer a royal line claiming descent from Nodons?

NV~~III~~INTI, *i.e.* NV[D]INTI. With this he compares the Breton name *Nodent* attested several times in De Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon*.¹ The inference is that among the Bretons, as well as among the Welsh, persons of local importance bore a name that had come down to them from the cult of the god Nodons. Equally remarkable is the fact that a Bishop of Llandaff in the ninth century A.D. was called Nud.²

So far we have obtained evidence of Nuada and his eponymous vicegerent from all the principal sections of the Insular Celts with one exception, *viz.* Cornwall. It is *à priori* improbable that here alone Nuada divine and Nuada human were entirely wanting. On the contrary, it might reasonably be supposed that, as the Northern Dumnonii had their Nudos Liberalis, a king who personated the god, so the Southern Dumnonii, occupying Cornwall, Devon, and part of Somerset, could boast a priestly king of like repute. I incline to believe that behind St. Neot, the chief Cornish saint, lurks a man-god corresponding to Nuada. The name *Neot* may be merely the Anglo-Saxon spelling of an older Cornish form; for at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, whither the body of the saint was transferred from Cornwall, it is pronounced *Neede*³ or *Need*⁴—a pronunciation that points to an

¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne* publié par M. Aurélien de Courson Paris 1863 pp. 14, 99, 129. *Nodent* appears among the names of witnesses to documents dating circ. 834, Apr. 1 821, and 797 to 814 A.D.

² W. H. Stevenson *Asser's Life of King Alfred* Oxford 1904 p. 317.

³ W. Camden *Britannia* ed. R. Gough London 1789 ii. 153.

⁴ G. C. Gorham *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire; and of St. Neot's in the County of Cornwall* London 1820 p. 340 cites an inscription found over the cenotaph of St. Neot in the Cornish church by some workmen in Oct. 1795: the inscription says of the town in Huntingdonshire—

'*The vulgar call it now St. NEED's.*'

Tokens struck for the town in the reign of Charles II have the following spellings of its name: S^r NEOTS, S^r NEOTES, SAINT NEOTTS, SAINT NEEDS (Gorham *ib.* p. 144 ff.).

original *d* as in *Nuada*, *Nudd*, *Nodons*. Apart from the question of names, there are other points of resemblance between these deities incarnate and the legends of St. Neot. *Nuada* and *Nodons* were both river-gods located within easy distance of the sea and intimately associated with certain sacred salmon. The Cornish town of St. Neot is situated on a small stream called St. Neot's River, which rises in Dosmerry Pool, joins the Fowey, and so flows into the Channel. Near the site of St. Neot's hermitage is still to be seen a beautiful spring of clear water, which fills a reservoir about four feet square and is said to have witnessed more than one strange miracle.¹ St. Neot was accustomed to repeat the whole psalter once a day, standing the while in his fountain. In it lived three fish, of which he had divine permission to take one, and only one, for his daily meal: so long as this condition was observed, he was assured that the supply should never be diminished. On one occasion, when the saint was ill, his disciple *Barius* caught two fish for him, boiled one, broiled the other, and tried to tempt his appetite. St. Neot, much alarmed, bade him restore them to the pool, and prostrated himself in prayer till *Barius* returned with the welcome tidings that both fish were disporting as usual in the water. Hereupon *Barius* was sent back to the well and caught one fish. The hermit had no sooner tasted it than he was restored to perfect health. The part played by the sacred spring and the sacred fish in the legends of St. Neot is certainly suggestive of a Cornish counterpart to *Nuada* and *Nodons*.

Again, the dates of St. Neot's festivals deserve consideration. It is said that St. Neot died on July 31; and that day was the festival of St. Neot observed at the Priory in Huntingdonshire and also at the Abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy.² On the same day and the

¹ Gorham *ib.* p. 32 ff.

² Gorham *ib.* pp. 44 n., 143.

two following days a fair used to be held at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire by charter of Henry I: in 1820 A.D. this fair, called Lammas, was still kept up on August 1, though it was then dropping into desuetude.¹ The date of St. Neot's festival is, however, given by Chambers² as October 28. Now July 31 is the eve of the Celtic feast Lugnassad; and October 28 is the eve of the seven-day feast of Samain. Is it merely fortuitous that St. Neot is thus connected with two out of the three chief events in the Celtic year? Yet another festival of St. Neot was celebrated at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire; for the same charter of Henry I recognised an annual fair on the festival of St. Neot, its eve, and the succeeding day, *i.e.* on December 6-8. Later this fair was held on December 6, which was said to be the eve of the arrival of the saint's body from Cornwall, and was called St. Nicholas' fair—a name that it still bears, though with the alteration of the calendar it has come to be held on December 17.³ St. Nicholas was commonly known as St. Nicholas of *Bari*,⁴ which may account for the tradition that St. Neot's disciple was named *Barius*: as a patron of fishermen⁵ St. Nicholas of Bari would be appropriately connected with St. Neot. Further, the 'boy-bishop' of St. Nicholas' day⁶ may stand in some relation to the belief that St. Neot was very diminutive in stature, too short in fact to reach the lock on the door of Glastonbury Abbey, which must needs by a special miracle descend for his benefit.⁷

¹ Gorham *ib.* p. 143.

² R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London 1864 ii. 506.

³ Gorham *ib.* p. 143.

⁴ D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 458 Index.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 114 f.

⁶ T. F. Thiselton Dyer *British Popular Customs Present and Past* London 1900 p. 432 ff.

⁷ Gorham *ib.* p. 31 f.

Lastly, St. Neot was not only a sacred, but also a royal, personage. The monkish chroniclers regarded him as the son of king Æthelwulf and the brother (or at least near kinsman) of king Ælfred.¹ Ælfred—it was said—visited his retreat in Cornwall for the cure of a dangerous malady,² was rebuked by him for tyrannical behaviour, and at various crises of his life saw the saint in a consolatory vision: on one such occasion the phantom of the dead St. Neot undertook to lead the king's army to victory against the Danes.³ A fine stained-glass window in the parish church at St. Neot, Cornwall, represents the saint crowned in allusion to his supposed royal descent.⁴

It appears, then, that several features in the life and legends of St. Neot bear out the suggestion that he is the Christianised form of a priestly king corresponding to Nuada, Nudd, and Nodons. I do not mean to imply that St. Neot himself was not a historical character, but rather that he inherited the name, the myths, and the festivals of a Cornish divine king.

It would be interesting to know how far the name of these quasi-divinities corresponded to their nature. One point that stands out clearly in their story is the connexion with a river and sacred fish (Nuada, Nodons, Neot). Another, not quite so obvious, is their relation to cattle and other horned beasts. Nuada was husband of the Boyne, whose name *Bou-uinda* signifies 'White Cow.'⁵ On May 1, the day of his arrival in Ireland, cattle were driven by the druids between two fires.⁶ And Bres, the successor of Nuada, by means of a crafty trick obtained

¹ Gorham *ib.* p. 21 ff., Asser's *Life of King Alfred* ed. W. H. Stevenson Oxford 1904 p. 256 ff.

² Asser's *Life of King Alfred* ed. Stevenson p. 55 f., cp. p. 296 f.

³ *Annals of St. Neot's* in Stevenson's ed. of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* p. 137 f.

⁴ Gorham *ib.* p. 242.

⁵ D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 50.

⁶ *Supra* p. 30.

the milk of all the cows of the Tuatha Dé Danann : he at first demanded the produce of any cows that happened to be brown and hairless ; but, when this was granted, he wanted to pass all the cattle in Munster between two fires, and then claim the milk of all the singed beasts.¹ The contemplated action of Bres can hardly be dissociated from the ritual of May 1, and points to the belief that the divine king owned or protected all the cattle of the land. Again, at the second battle of Mag-Tured the Tuatha Dé Danann spared the life of Bres, when he guaranteed that their cows should be always in milk, promised them a wheat-harvest every month, and finally disclosed to them the secret that Tuesday was the right day for ploughing, sowing and reaping.² Similarly Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, had a herd of 20,001 cows.³ And of St. Neot it is told that, when the oxen of his Monastery in Cornwall were stolen by night, many stags from the neighbouring woodlands tamely offered their necks to the yoke, and ever afterwards showed a white mark where they had been pressed by the collar⁴; also that a trembling doe, flying from a huntsman, found shelter at the feet of the saint, who was chanting as usual in his fountain.⁵ Finally, the idea of liberality, so prominent in the case of Nudos Liberalis and Nudd Hael, probably attached to the other divine kings of the Celtic area. Evidence of this will be shortly forthcoming : for the moment note that the Tuatha Dé Danann deposed Bres after a seven years' reign precisely because he was illiberal and ungenerous.⁶ In short

¹ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 169 f., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 79.

² D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 442 ff., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 115 f.

³ *Supra* p. 36.

⁴ Gorham *op. cit.* p. 36 f.

⁵ Gorham *ib.* p. 35 f.

⁶ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 413 ff., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 79 ff.

Nuada and his homonyms were connected (a) with *fishing*, (b) with *cattle and other horned animals*, (c) with *liberality*.

Next let us turn to the commonly accepted derivation of their name. Professors Rhÿs¹ and Thurneysen² refer it to a root NEUD appearing in—

Gothic	<i>niutan</i> ('to enjoy, get benefit from'), <i>nuta</i> ('catcher, fisher')
Icelandic	<i>naut</i> ('a head of cattle, a horned beast')
Swedish	<i>nöt</i> ('cattle')
Danish	<i>nöd</i> ('cattle')
Anglo-Saxon	<i>nēotan</i> ('to use, employ'), <i>nēat</i> ('cattle')
Old High German	<i>niozan</i> ('to make use of')
Middle High German	<i>nōz</i> ('cattle')
Modern German	<i>ge-niessen</i> ('to eat, drink, enjoy, have the use of')
Lithuanian	<i>naudà</i> ('use, profit, proceeds, harvest, possessions').

These Germanic and Lithuanian congeners do not enable us to determine the precise meaning of the names *Nuada*, *Nudd*, *Nodons*, *Neot*; but they certainly point to a god who had within his gift the fish, the cattle, and the crops. Such an one could be rightly represented only by a king who was liberal in like manner.

Here our knowledge of Nuada would have come to an abrupt end, were it not for a brilliant suggestion made by Professor Rhÿs and accepted by all Celtic scholars. Professor Rhÿs³ proposed to identify—

Nuada *Arget-lám* ('argentea manu') }
 Lludd *Llaw-ereint* ('manu argentea') }

¹ Rhÿs *Hibbert Lectures* p. 128 n. 3.

² Thurneysen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* xxxii. 562 ff., cp. De Jubainville in the *Revue celtique* xiii. 414.

³ Rhÿs *Hibbert Lectures* p. 125, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 447 f.

and remarked that *Nudd* might have passed into *Ludd* under the influence of alliteration. The name of Lydney, the cult-centre of Nodons, bears witness, as he pointed out,¹ to this change of initial. It follows that Nudd gave his name not only to the great Welsh king Lludd Llawereint, 'of the Silver Hand,' better known in English as king Lud, but also to Loth or Lot of the Arthurian romances.²

Lludd of the Silver Hand was the father of Creiddylad, who was betrothed to Gwythyr son of Greidawl. But, before she became his bride, Gwyn son of Nudd came and carried her away by force. The upshot was a great contest in which Gwyn beat Gwythyr. King Arthur made peace between them on the following terms: 'that the maiden should remain in her father's house, without advantage to either of them, and that Gwyn son of Nudd and Gwythyr son of Greidawl should fight for her every first of May from thenceforth until the day of doom, and that whichever of them should then be conqueror should have the maiden.'³ This singular recital probably hangs together with another passage in the *Mabinogion*⁴: 'The second plague was a shriek which came on every May-eve over every hearth in the Island of Britain. And this went through people's hearts, and so scared them that the men lost their hue and their strength, and the women their children, and the young men and the maidens lost their senses, and all the animals and trees and the earth and the waters were left barren.' Lludd king of Britain, at the advice of his brother Llevelys king of France, put an end to

¹ Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448.

² Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 125, 128 f., *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891, pp. 11, 239.

³ Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* London 1904 p. 138 f. See Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 561 ff.

⁴ Lady Guest *ib.* p. 93 f.

this plague by the following means. He 'caused the island to be measured in its length and in its breadth. And in Oxford he found the central point, and in that place he caused the earth to be dug, and in that pit a cauldron to be set, full of the best mead that could be made, and a covering of satin over the face of it. And he himself watched that night. And while he was there, he beheld the dragons fighting (*i.e.* a British dragon and a foreign dragon). And when they were weary they fell, and came down upon the top of the satin, and drew it with them to the bottom of the cauldron. And when they had drunk the mead they slept. And in their sleep, Lludd folded the covering around them, and in the securest place he had in Snowdon, he hid them in a kistvaen. Now after that this spot was called Dinas Emreis,¹ but before that Dinas Ffaraon. And thus the fierce outcry ceased in his dominions.' One of the Welsh Triads² mentions 'the dragons hidden by Lludd, son of Beli, in Dinas Emreis'; and another³ says—'Three oppressions came into this isle and disappeared; the oppression of March Malaen, which is called the oppression of the first of May; the oppression of the dragon of Britain; the oppression of the magician.' *March* means 'Horse'; and a Welsh proverb speaks of any good thing wasted as 'gone on the Horse of Malaen.'⁴ Putting together these somewhat enigmatical allusions, we gather that the first of May was a critical time for king Lludd. The same belief comes out in connexion with Gwalchmei (Walgan) and Medrawt (Modred), the two sons of king Loth (Lot).⁵ The name

¹ Dinas Emreis, the 'City of Ambrosius,' was a little hill near Beddgelert. Cp. Nennius *History of the Britons* 42 (Ambrosius and the two fighting dragons) in J. A. Giles *Old English Chronicles* London 1901 p. 402 ff.

² Loth *Mabinogion* ii. 218.

³ *Id. ib.* ii. 278.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ii. 278 n. 3.

⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 9. 9 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 238.

Gwalchmei means 'the Hawk or Falcon of May'¹; and with it should be compared the tradition that the eagles of Llyn Llumonwy, or Loch Lomond, used to congregate on the eve of the Calends of May to give the inhabitants auguries for the year then commencing.² As to Modred, Merlin in Malory's *Morte Darthur*³ warns king Arthur that he will be destroyed by one born on May-day: hereupon the king collects all the children so born to his lords and ladies, and sends them to sea in a ship: of their number is Mordred, *i.e.* Modred, who escapes and ultimately slays king Arthur. Equally momentous is the first of May in the tale of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*,⁴ and in that of Gwyddneu Garanhir and the weir at Aberdovey.⁵ Why May-day was such a crisis for the Celtic king, is a question to which we shall have to return. Meantime we are concerned with Lludd, Loth, or Lot.

As Nodons was a river-god in Gloucestershire, so, it would seem, was Lud in Leicestershire. For the town of '*Lud*, alias *Louth*,' as Leland⁶ called it, derives its name from the little river Lud or Ludd, in the neighbourhood of which are the hamlets Ludborough, Ludford, and Ludney.⁷ Again, Professor Rhys conjectures that, as the god Nodons had a sanctuary beside the Severn at Lydney, so the god Lud had a sanctuary by the Thames on or near the site of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁸ Here he was represented by the British king Lud, of

¹ Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 13.

² *Id. ib.* p. 238 f.

³ Sir Thomas Malory *Le Morte Darthur* ed. Sir E. Strachey London 1904 p. 48 f.

⁴ Lady Guest *Mabinogion* p. 21, Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 497 ff.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 545, *Arthurian Legend* p. 316 f.

⁶ Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough ii. 274.

⁷ S. Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of England* London 1842 s.vv.

⁸ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 129, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448.

whom we read¹ that his capital 'was afterwards called *Kaerlud*' and that 'his body was buried by the gate which to this time is called in the British tongue after his name, *Parthlud*, and in the Saxon, *Ludesgata*,' i.e. Ludgate. King Nudd, it will be remembered, was 'Generous' and 'Liberal' (*Hael*, *Liberalis*). Similarly the *Story of Ludd and Llevellys* makes Lludd 'generous and liberal in giving meat and drink to all that sought them,'² and tells how he guarded a great banquet all night against the depredations of a gigantic warrior.³ According to Geoffrey of Monmouth too, king Lud was 'very magnificent in his feasts and public entertainments'⁴: he was succeeded by his brother Cassibellaun, who, as soon as he was crowned, 'began to display his generosity and magnificence to such a degree, that his fame reached to distant kingdoms; which was the reason that the monarchy of the whole kingdom came to be invested in him.'⁵

'Lot of Londonesia' is treated by Geoffrey as quite a different personage. He was a valiant man of royal blood, who married Anna, the sister of Arthur, and was by Arthur established as king of Norway.⁶ 'Londonesia' is a corruption⁷ of *Loudonesia* or *Lodoneis*, better known as Lothian; for Loth or Lot is the eponym of that district.⁸ In the *Morte Darthur* Lot figures as king of Lothian and of Orkney, who has married Arthur's sister, dame Morgawse, but, because of the wrong done to him by Arthur, fights against him and is slain by Sir

¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 3. 20 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 136 f.

² Lady Guest *Mabinogion* p. 92.

³ *Ead. ib.* p. 97.

⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 3. 20 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 137.

⁵ *Id. ib.*

⁶ *Id. ib.* 8. 21, 9. 9, 9. 11.

⁷ Cp. Geoffrey's derivation of *Caer-london* from *Kaer-lud* (*id. ib.* 3. 20).

⁸ Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 11.

Pellinore.¹ Thus mythology passes, on the one hand into pseudo-history, on the other hand into romance. But neither the would-be historian nor the romance-writer can help weaving into his narrative some threads of genuine antiquity. Lot, whether conceived as king of Norway, or as king of Lothian and Orkney, has a dominion across the waters, and therein preserves a faint trace² of the water-god, whom his predecessors were believed to embody.

Let us gather up our results. It appears that Nuada, Nudd, Lludd and Loth were kings, bearing the name, and sharing the nature, of a Celtic sky-god, who was also a water-god and perchance an earth-god too. This divinity had control over the fish, the cattle, and the crops. His human representative in like manner was expected to bless all animal and vegetable produce. The ideal king, who fed his people aright, was deemed 'Generous' and 'Liberal.' The usurper, on the contrary, according to Irish notions, finds his footsteps dogged by the displeasure of heaven; 'for the land in his time yields no corn, the trees no fruit, the rivers no fish, the cows no milk.'³ So too a Welsh couplet from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (s. xii) runs:—

'We shall have years and long days
With false kings (and) failing fruit-crops.'⁴

In short, the Celtic king, like the Greek⁵ or Italian⁶ king, was responsible for the fertility of animal and vegetable nature.

Now the Greek and Italian kings, who personated

¹ *Le Morte Darthur* ed. Strachey pp. 27, 31, 56, 139, *alib.*

² If Prof. Rhys is right in identifying Lot's wife with Arthur's sister, *Morgan le Fay* (Welsh *Morgen*, 'sea-born'; Irish *Muirgen*, a name of the aquatic lady Liban), the case is strengthened. See Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 22 f.

³ Rhys *Celtic Britain* p. 64.

⁴ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 308 n. 1.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xv. 312 ff., 392 f.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xvi. 316 ff.

Zeus and Jupiter, were normally associated with the oak of the sky-god or with some surrogate of the same. Can any analogous connexion be made out in the case of Celtic kings?

To begin with, I shall endeavour to show that among the Insular Celts, as among the Greeks and Italians, the oak was regarded as the sky-god's tree. The well-known assertion of Maximus Tyrius—'The Celts worship Zeus, and the Celtic image of Zeus is a lofty oak'¹—refers presumably to the Continental, not to the Insular, Celts. But an ancient glossary, the *Duil Laithne*, in the handwriting of Duaid Mac Firbis, gives among other early Irish names for God the word *Daur*, glossed by *Dia*, i.e. 'God.'² This word *Daur* is neither more nor less than *daur*, the early Irish for 'oak.'³ In fact, we have here, and that from a trustworthy native source, a striking confirmation of the statement of Maximus Tyrius. May we not infer that in Ireland, as on the Continent, the divinised oak-tree stood for the sky-god?

Lydney, the cult-centre of Nodons, was first explored by Major Hayman Rooke in 1777 A.D.; and one of the few facts noted by him is that on the adjoining bank of the Severn are 'the remains of a number of oak trees, visible at low water, all laying one way, that is with their roots to the North-East; the soil on which they grew having, as is imagined, been washed away by the encroachment of the tide.'⁴ Lydney was indeed situated in the famous forest of Dean, where there were some

¹ Max. Tyr. *dissert.* 8. 8 Κεῖλοι σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἀγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴν δρῦς.

² Stokes in the *Revue celtique* i. 259. Dr. Stokes there comments on *Daur* = *Dia* as follows: 'Daur is possibly, as Siegfried thought, borrowed from the Old-Norse *Thórr*. But I should prefer to regard it as a derivative from the root DHAR, whence Skr. *dharana*, 'preserving,' *dharitri*, *dharitrī*, 'supporter.'

³ Cp. D'Arbois *Introd. à l'étude de la littérature celtique* p. 119.

⁴ Major Rooke in *Archaeologia* London 1779 v. 207 ff.

30,000 acres thick-set with oak-trees. So useful was this oak-timber for ship-building, that it is said to have been part of the instructions of the Spanish Armada to destroy it.¹ One storm alone, that of February 18, 1662, prostrated over 1000 oaks and as many beech-trees in this forest. A survey made the same year showed that the forest contained 25,929 oaks and 4,204 beeches. In 1783 the numbers had grown to 90,382 oaks and 17,982 beeches.² Enormous oak-trees, such as 'Jack of the Yat,' 'the Newland Oak,' and one near York Lodge, are still the pride of the forest.³ Mr. C. W. King remarks that the pillars and entablature of Nodons' temple must have been constructed of oak, since no architectural fragments have been found.⁴ In the adjoining county of Monmouthshire it is still believed that fairies dance 'under the female oak, called Brenhin-bren.'⁵ But in the forest of Dean sanctity attaches nowadays rather to the holly. At least, it is noteworthy that the free miners of the forest, who form a peculiar community with its own court of justice, are sworn by means of a special oath, in which they touch the Gospels with a stick of holly.⁶ The choice of a red-berried substitute for the oak is not without significance, as the sequel will show.⁷

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis trans. by T. Wright London 1905 p. 371 n. 4. cp. Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 267, where 'oats' is a clerical error for 'oaks.'

² H. G. Nicholls *The Forest of Dean* London 1858 pp. 39, 210.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 207 ff.

⁴ *Lydney Park* p. 29.

⁵ Wirt Sikes *British Goblins* London 1880 p. 105 f.

⁶ Nicholls *The Forest of Dean* p. 149.

⁷ *Vide* my next article. The resemblance of the holly (*ilex aquifolium* L.) to the holly oak or holm oak (*quercus ilex* L.) can hardly have been a determining cause, since the latter tree appears to have been introduced into this country only about the middle of the sixteenth century (E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 18). R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 376 supposes that Christmas holly is a surrogate for boughs of oak.

As the cult of Nodons was carried on in a great forest of oaks, so St. Neot, the Cornish representative of Nodons, chose for his hermitage a spot surrounded by trees.¹ Gorham, writing in 1820, says of St. Neot's spring: 'It is yet to be seen at the foot of a hill . . . some years since clothed with forest trees . . . About 60 years since, a venerable oak, bending forward from the bank above, spread its branches like a fan over this sainted well.'²

Lot, the northern counterpart of Nodons, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth,³ married Anna. Professor Rhys speaks of her as 'the Celtic Anna . . . wife of Loth, that is to say of Lludd or Nudd, originally the Zeus of the Celts.'⁴ Anna is elsewhere described as wife of Beli the Great.⁵ Now Professor Rhys regards Beli as a 'chthonian divinity,'⁶ 'the god of death and darkness,'⁷ 'the death-god,'⁸ 'the dark god,'⁹ 'the Dis of the ancient Celts.'¹⁰ And Professor D'Arbois de Jubainville finds in **Belios* 'the god of death, the Celtic god whom Caesar called *Dis pater*.'¹¹ It appears probable, therefore, that Anna was the partner of the Celtic Zeus in his dark or chthonian character. If so, we may have a survival of her in Black Anna, who still haunts a cave about a mile from Leicester. 'Black Anna was said to be in the habit of crouching among the branches of the old pollard oak (the last remnant of the forest) which grew in the cleft of the rock over the mouth of her cave or "bower," ever ready to spring like a wild beast on any stray children passing below.'¹²

¹ Gorham *Eynesbury and St. Neot's* p. 29.

² *Id. ib.* p. 33 f.

³ *Supra* p. 51.

⁴ Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 336 f., cp. pp. 22, 169.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 336.

⁶ *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 168.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 274.

⁸ *Id. ib.* p. 377, cp. p. 643.

⁹ *Id. Arthurian Legend* p. 337.

¹⁰ *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 644.

¹¹ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225 f.

¹² *County Folk-lore* vol. i. Leicestershire and Rutland p. 8.

Lud, the southern equivalent of Lot, had a sanctuary on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral,¹ where he too, for aught we know to the contrary, may have had a sacred tree. Is there an allusion to such a tree in the familiar nursery rhyme?—

Upon Paul's steeple stands a tree
As full of apples as may be.
The little boys of London town
They run with hooks to pull them down:
And then they run from hedge to hedge
Until they come to London Bridge.

Geoffrey of Monmouth² cites as part of Merlin's prophecy the following remarkable words: 'After this shall be produced a tree upon the Tower of London, which, having no more than three branches, shall overshadow the surface of the whole island with the breadth of its leaves.' This unmistakable reference to Yggdrasill's Tree³ suggests that the odd conceit of an apple-tree growing on the steeple of Old St. Paul's originated in a similar belief and is, in fact, evidence of a British sky-tree on the hill where Lludd the sky-god was represented by king Lud. Further evidence may perhaps be found in the ancient Cornish drama *de origine mundi* edited and translated by Edwin Norris in 1859; for it describes⁴ the apple-tree of Paradise in terms that certainly recall the Scandinavian world-tree:—

In it there is a tree,
High with many boughs;
But they are all bare, without leaves.
And around it, bark
There was none, from the stem to the head.
All its boughs are bare.

¹ *Supra* p. 50.

² Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 7. 3 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 200.

³ *Folk-lore* xv. 292.

⁴ E. Norris *The Ancient Cornish Drama* Oxford 1859 i. 59.

And at the bottom, when I looked,
I saw its roots
Even into hell descending,
In midst of great darkness.

And its branches growing up,
Even to heaven high in light;
And it was without bark altogether,
Both the head and the boughs.

This religious or mythological transition from oak-tree to apple-tree corresponds to an actual advance in pre-historic civilization. Tribes that were once content to subsist upon acorns and wild fruits in general learnt gradually the art of cultivating the more edible varieties of the latter, and so came in the course of many centuries to keep well-stocked orchards. Here and there this important advance has left a trace of itself upon language. The apple in particular, the oldest cultivated fruit-tree in Europe,¹ is felt to be the equivalent of the oak; and words denoting the one are used freely of the other. Thus, in the *Völsungasaga* the oak-tree that grows in the hall of king Völsungr is also spoken of as *apaldr*, 'an apple-tree.'² The Irish *omne*, meaning 'oak,' is the Latin *pomum*, meaning 'apple or other fruit.' The Slavonic *žī-ru*, 'means of living' (cp. Old Slavonic *žī-ti*, 'to live'), denotes 'acorns' in the South-Slavonic dialects, 'beech-nuts' in Slovenic, and 'orchard fruit' among the Croatsians of Istria. Nay, the English *acorn* itself appears in the Cornish *acran* as 'plum,' in the Irish *áirne* as 'sloe,' and in the Welsh *acron* as 'fruit' without restriction.³

We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that, whereas Nodons dwelt in an oak-wood, Lud may be

¹ On the earliest cultivation of fruit-trees in Europe see J. Hoops *Wald-bäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* Strassburg 1905 pp. 299, 334 ff., 338, 475 ff., 572 ff., 603 ff., 647 f.

² E. Wilken *Die Prosaische Edda* p. 151 f.

³ O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* Strassburg 1901 p. 583.

connected rather with an apple-tree, and Nuada perhaps both with apples and with nuts.

Nuada, god of the summer-sky, was slain by Balar at Samain, the beginning of the Celtic winter.¹ Allhallow Even, the night before Samain, was indeed a critical time, when the powers of the sky-god or sun-god needed to be replenished. Hence the various sun-charms that are still kept up in Ireland on the eve of November 1. The evening is known as Snap-apple Night or Nut-crack Night. My friend Mr. W. M. Coates, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, tells me that as a boy in Ireland he used to celebrate Snap-apple Night in the following way. Crossed sticks bearing an apple and a lighted candle at opposite ends were hung by a cord and set spinning: those who took part in the fun had to snap at the apple as it passed, with a chance of getting a mouthful of candle. The crossed sticks in this pastime were doubtless originally one form of the solar wheel: the apple may have symbolised the sun itself. Nuts too are often burnt by the Irish on Nut-crack Night, and love-omens drawn from the way in which they crack or jump.²

In the self-same battle Lug slew Balar, the slayer of Nuada, struck off his head, and hung it in the fork of a hazel-tree. The tree split, and the leaves fell from it by reason of the poison that dripped from the head. For fifty years that tree was a dwelling-place of crows and ravens. Then Manannán mac Lir passed by and bade his men to dig it up. They did so, though thrice nine of them were killed or blinded by the poisonous mist that rose up from its roots. Luchtaine the carpenter made a shield of the hazel-wood for Manannán, who gave it, and a set of chessmen along with it, to Tadg,

¹ *Supra* p. 29 f.

² J. Brand *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* enlarged by Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 377 ff.

son of the druid Nuada; and from him it came to his grandson Finn, son of Murni and Cumall.¹

In the foregoing tale it is Balar, not Nuada, who is associated with the hazel-tree. But that makes little difference. For *Balar* (= *Belar) is etymologically one with *Beli*,² the Celtic Zeus in his dark or chthonian character.³ Thus both the bright sky-god Nuada and his dark counterpart Balar were connected with the hazel, just as the bright sky-god Jupiter and his dark counterpart Vediovis were alike connected with the oak.⁴

The root BEL, which underlies both *Beli* and *Balar*, appears in yet another name *Bile* (= *Belios), borne by the forefather of the Gaels and ancestor of the Milesian kings. *Bile* too, therefore, has been identified with the Celtic god of darkness and death.⁵ This squares with the statement of Caesar, that all the Gauls claimed to be descended from *Dis pater*.⁶ Moreover, it is interesting to find that Irél Fáith, one of the Milesian kings claiming descent from *Bile*, was actually called Nuada Airgetlám,⁷ just as the Julian gens, which had an ancestral cult of *Vediovis pater*,⁸ bore a name that meant literally 'young Jupiter.'⁹ In short, it would appear that Nuada the bright sky-god had as his dark counterpart, not only Balar, but also *Bile*.

But, on this showing, *Bile*, like Balar, should be connected with a tree sacred to the sky-god—perhaps an

¹ Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* London 1904 p. 269.

² D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225.

³ *Supra* p. 55.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvi. 280.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 91, D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225 f.

⁶ Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

⁷ *Supra* p. 33. We remember too that Lot and *Beli* were alternative husbands of Anna (*supra* p. 55), while Lludd Llawereint was regarded as the youngest son of *Beli* (Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 643). In both cases the association of the bright with the dark divinity deserves notice.

⁸ H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* Berlin 1902 no. 2988, cp. *Classical Review* xviii. 363.

⁹ *Folk-lore* xvi. 286 f.

oak, perhaps an apple, perhaps a hazel. Our expectation is amply fulfilled. The Irish word *bile*, denoting 'any ancient tree growing over a holy well or in a fort,' is identical with the name *Bile*.¹ It follows that *Bile*, the national forefather, was simply a divinised tree. In fact, just as the Italian Aborigines boasted their descent from 'trunks and heart of oak,' on the acorns of which they fed,² so the ancient Gaels were children of a deity, who resided in a tree and supplied them with its fruit.

The conclusion just arrived at is sufficiently remarkable. But can we go further and identify any particular tree as a *bile* of the sky-god, dark or bright? Fortunately the *Dinnsenchus*, an important work in Middle Irish, which gives the legendary history of numerous hills, caves, lakes, islands, etc., specifies no less than five trees under the name of *bile*.

One such tree was a gigantic evergreen oak growing on the plain of Mugna beside the river Barrow in the east of Leinster. We are told: 'equally broad were its tops and the plain (in which it stood).'³ And again: 'thirty cubits was its girth, and its height was three hundred cubits, and its leaves were on it always.'⁴ Also: 'it was for a long while hidden until the birth of Conn of the Hundred Battles (when it was revealed). Ninine

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 678, where the equation of *bile* with *Bile* is tentatively suggested, but without discussion of its consequences.

² Verg. *Aen.* 8. 315 ff. See further *Classical Review* xviii. 371 n. 4.

³ Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xv. 420. *Id.* 'The Edinburgh *Dinnsenchas*' in *Folk-lore* iv. 485 cites the scrap of folk-song: "Mughna's oak-tree without blemish, | Whereon were mast and fruit, | Its top was as broad precisely | As the great plain without . . ." This is somewhat inconsequently subjoined to the statement: 'Woods, great oak-trees grew there, so that their tops were as broad as the plain.' But folk-song deserves more attention than a rationalising explanation.

⁴ *Id.* *Revue celtique* xv. 420, *Folk-lore* iv. 485 f.

the Poet cast it down in the time of Domnall son of Murchad King of Ireland, who had refused (?) a demand of Ninine's. . . . Or it may have been in the time of the sons of Aed Sláne that this tree and the *Bile Tortan* fell together.¹ Conn came to the throne in 177 A.D., Domnall in 743 A.D., the sons of Aed Sláne in 656 A.D.,² so that the tree was some 500 years old. Further, we read in another passage: 'Now the tree of Mugna is an oak, and it fell due southward, over Mag n-Ailbe, as far as the Pillar of the Living Tree.'³ This suggests that, as in ancient Crete,⁴ so in ancient Ireland a baetylic column stood in close relation to the sacred tree. But the most wonderful feature of the Mugna oak has still to be told: 'nine hundred bushels was its crop of acorns, and three crops it bore every year, to wit, apples goodly, marvellous, and nuts round, blood-red, and acorns brown, ridgy.'⁵ Here we have a most definite statement to the effect that the sacred oak-tree bore not only acorns, but apples and nuts as well. In fact, it united in itself the merits of precisely the three trees that we have so far seen reason to associate with the sky-god of the Insular Celts. I conceive that the oak of Mugna was the sky-god's tree; and that this is the meaning of the phrase in the Rennes *Dinnsenchus*: 'Berries to the berries the strong (guiding?) Upholder put upon his tree.'⁶ I would further support this conception by pointing out that the

¹ *Id. Revue celtique* xv. 420, cp. *ib.* xv. 445, *Folk-lore* iv. 485.

² Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 70 f.

³ Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindŕenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

⁴ See A. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1901 xxi. 99 ff. Dr. Evans remarks (*ib.* p. 106): 'In the Druidical worship of the West, the tree divinity and the Menhir or stone pillar are associated in a very similar manner, and lingering traditions of their relationship are still traceable in modern folklore.' This is a point which I shall have occasion to illustrate at a later stage of my argument.

⁵ Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindŕenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

⁶ *Id. ib.* xv. 420.

word *mugna* denoted 'salmon,'¹ a fish that we have already found to be intimately connected with both Nuada and Nodons.²

At one time Ireland must have been well-nigh covered with oak-woods—witness the amazing number of Irish place-names derived from the oak. Dr. Joyce³ says: 'Over 1300 names begin with the word in its various forms, and there are innumerable places whose names contain it as a termination.' The oak was in early days the most plentiful of all Irish trees, and its timber continued for many ages to be exported to England.⁴ Nevertheless parts of Ireland were more famous for their ash-trees, for instance Funshin, Funshinagh, Funshog, Funshoge, Unshinagh, Inshinagh, Unshog, Hinchoge, all of which mean places producing ash-trees, Funcheon the ash-producing river, Ballynafunshin the town of the ash, Cloonnafunchin the ash-tree meadow, Corrinshigo or Corrinshigagh the hill of the ash-trees, Drumminshin or Drumnahunshin the ridge of the ash, Lisnafunchin the fort of the ash-trees.⁵ Naturally enough, therefore, the ash sometimes replaces the oak as the tree of the sky-god. I have already⁶ had occasion to remark that the part played by the oak as the sky-tree of central and

¹ Whitley Stokes *Three Irish Glossaries* London 1862 p. 107 cites from O'Davoren's Glossary the word *mugna* glossed by 'salmon': *Mughna*. i. bradan, ut est ni blaisi mughna mana fir foltach. f. i. ni tuga blas mogha in ena in uisci do in b[r]adan. In the *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* ii. 421 no. 1266 Dr. Stokes prints: *Mughna*. i. bradan, ut est ni blaisi mughna mana fir foltaig. f. i. ni tuga blas mogha in ena in uisci do in bratan. He adds: 'Quotation and gloss are obscure to me.'

² *Supra* p. 39 ff.

³ P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 487. See also *ib.* p. 484 ff. and index, *ib.* (Second Series) Dublin 1875 index, *eund.* *Irish Local Names Explained* index.

⁴ *Id.* *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* p. 484.

⁵ *Id.* *ib.* p. 488 f. and index, *ib.* (Second Series) p. 36 and index, *Irish Local Names Explained* p. 49.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xv. 292 f.

southern Europe is in more northern latitudes played by the ash. The winged oak of Zas is paralleled by the ash of Yggdrasill. It would seem that this north-European connexion of ideas holds good, at least in part, of Ireland also.¹ For of the five *bile* mentioned in the *Dinnsenchus* no less than three are ashes, namely 'the Ancient tree of Dathe and the Branching Tree of Uisnech and the Ancient Tree of Tortu.'²

Of the Tree of Dathe we read: 'Now the Branchy Tree of Belach Dathi is an ash, and 'tis it that killed the poet Dathen, and it fell upwards as far as Carn Uachtair Bile, and from it the Fir Bile are named.'³ The epithet 'Ancient' is at first sight surprising; for, as Mr. Step⁴ informs us, 'The Ash is not one of the long-lived trees, its natural span being about two hundred years.' Still, some specimens are certainly older. The ash at Carnock, which was planted about 1596, was in full vigour and beauty in 1825, being then 90 feet in height and 31 feet in circumference at the ground-level.⁵ Ireland could boast sacred ashes of equal magnitude. The Big Bell Tree near Borrisokane, county Tipperary, had a trunk at least 30 feet in girth: 'Bell' is a corruption of *bile*; and tradition said that any house, in which even the smallest fragment of this ash-tree was burned, would itself also be ultimately burned.⁶

¹ O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary* p. 386 has '*nion* the ash tree . . . a cloud; Heaven, the expanse or firmament.' Is this a confusion of two similar words, or may we infer that the Irish had a cosmic ash corresponding to Yggdrasill's tree?

² Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dinnsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 278.

³ *Id. ib.* xvi. 279.

⁴ Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* p. 48.

⁵ J. G. Strutt *Sylva Scotica* p. 8, pl. 8. *Id. Sylva Britannica* p. 22 f., pl. 22, describes the great ash at Woburn as 90 feet high and 23½ feet in girth at the ground-level.

⁶ W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 ii. 159, with a wood-cut (fig. 46) of the Big Bell Tree as it appeared in the year 1833, reproduced from the *Dublin Penny Journal*.

Another sacred ash, the *Crann a hulla*, in the parish of Clenor, county Cork, has been estimated at something over three centuries old, but is probably a seedling or off-shoot from the parent tree, which it has replaced: its sanctity may be judged from the fact that, though fuel is exceedingly scarce in the locality, it has never had a branch lopped off.¹ Doubtless the Ancient Tree of Dathe was comparable to these veterans. The fact that the Fir Bile were named after it recalls the tradition that *Bile* was the forefather of the Gaels.² Dr. Stokes observes that the Fir Bile inhabited what is now the barony of Farbill in the county of Westmeath.³

With regard to the Tree of Uisnech we are told: 'Due northward fell the Ash of Usnech, as far as Granard in Cairbre, in the time of the sons of Aed Sláne.'⁴ Uisnech, according to Dr. Stokes, is now Usnagh Hill in the county of Westmeath,⁵ and Granard in Cairbre is now Granard in the county of Longford.⁶ Usnagh Hill, once called the Hill of Balar,⁷ was the spot where Tuathal the Acceptable, king of Ireland in the first century, instituted the festival of Beltaine; and it was consequently regarded as the chief centre of the Druidic fires kindled on May 1.⁸ We shall not be far wrong, if we suppose that the solar fires of Beltaine were the ritual of the sky-god connected with the Ash of Uisnech. For fires used to be kindled under these

¹ Wood-Martin *ib.* ii. 158 f., with a photographic block (fig. 45), reproduced from the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

² *Supra* p. 59.

³ Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ⁵ *Id.* 'The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*' in *Folk-lore* iii. 476.

⁶ *Id.* 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

⁷ Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 69, 324. See also Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 192 f.

⁸ Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 193.

sacred trees, as is clear from the numerous localities named Billatinny, that is 'the *bile* of the fire.'¹ Irish custom in this respect was identical with that of the Greeks² and Italians.³ A further inference seems legitimate. The name *Billatinny*, or rather *Beltany* as Dr. Joyce⁴ spells it, gives us, if I am not mistaken, the much needed clue to the meaning of the term *Beltene*, i.e. Beltaine. The second element of this compound, as has long been known, is pre-Irish *tenia- (according to Dr. Stokes, for *tepnia-) a collateral form of *tenet- (*tene*, *teine*), 'fire.' I would suggest that the first element is *belo- a collateral form of *belio- (*bile*), 'tree.' The word would thus denote 'the fire of the *bile*,' or perhaps rather 'the fire of *Bile*.' The connexion of the Beltaine fires with the Hill of Balar would then be clear; for *Balar*⁵ is but another form of *Bile*, the divinised tree.

'The Tree of Tortu was an ash, and due south-eastward it fell as far as Cell Íchtair Thíre.'⁶ Tortu was a place near Ardraccan in county Meath.⁷ Its famous Tree was first seen in the time of the sons of Ugaine (circ. 594 B.C.), therein resembling the Tree of Mugna and the Tree of Dathe⁸; and it fell in the time of the sons of Aed Sláne together with the Tree of Mugna⁹ and the Tree of Uisnech.¹⁰ The Ancient Tree of Tortu was thus believed to synchronise with the oak of Mugna, which, as we have seen, attained the age of some 500 years. In the *Annals of Tighernac* for the year 621 A.D. the

¹ Wood-Martin *Elder Faiths of Ireland* ii. 157 f.

² *Folk-lore* xv. 306 ff.

³ *Classical Review* xviii. 370, with fig. 3.

⁴ Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 193 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 59.

⁶ Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

⁷ *Id. ib.*, citing *Chron. Scot.* pp. 46, 76, 190.

⁸ *Id. ib.* xv. 445.

⁹ *Id. ib.* xv. 420.

¹⁰ *Id. ib.* xvi. 279.

drowning of Conaing, son of Aidan, is thus commemorated by Bimudine, a poet apparently resident at Bili Tortan—

‘The resplendent billows of the sea,
The sun that raised them,
My grief, the pale storms
Against Conang with his army;
The woman of the fair locks
Was in the curach with Conang:
Lamentation for mirth with us
This day at Bili Tortan.’¹

The remaining *bile* of the *Dinnsenchus* is in some respects the most interesting of the series. Like the oak of Mugna and the ashes of Dathe and Tortu, it was first seen in the time of the sons of Ugainne.² We read of it: ‘The Tree of Ross is a yew. North-east as far as Druim Bairr it fell, as Druim Suithe (a poet named ‘The Ridge of Science’) sang—

Tree of Ross,	beauty's honour,
a king's wheel,	a mind's lord,
a prince's right,	20 diadem of angels,
a wave's noise,	shout of the world,
5 best of creatures,	Banba's renown,
a straight firm tree,	might of victory,
a firm-strong god,	judgment of origin,
door(?) of heaven,	25 judicial doom,
strength of a building,	faggot(?) of sages,
10 the good of a crew,	noblest of trees,
a word-pure man,	glory of Leinster,
full-great bounty,	dearest of bushes,
the Trinity's mighty one,	30 a bear's(?) defence,
a measure's house(?),	vigour of life,
15 a mother's good,	spell of knowledge,
Mary's Son,	Tree of Ross!’
a fruitful sea,	

Dr. Stokes says that this remarkable rhapsody ‘seems a string of kennings, which in Irish, as in Scandinavian, poetry, took the place of similes. It once perhaps had

¹ Skene *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* p. 69.

² Whitley Stokes ‘The Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ in the *Revue celtique* xv. 445.

some meaning, now not easily discoverable.¹ I venture to believe that some at least of these kennings are intelligible enough as descriptions of a sacred tree. It was '*a straight firm tree, | a firm-strong god*,' the yew being here identified with the god (*dia*) precisely as *Daur*, an 'Oak' was glossed by *Dia*, 'God.'² The *bile*, in fact, was *Bile*. In Christian times the oak of Mugna seems to have been connected with Christ³: similarly the yew of Ross came to be regarded as a figure of Christ—hence '*the Trinity's mighty one, . . . Mary's Son*.' But in pagan days it was, like the oak of Dodona, an oracular tree: '*a word-pure man . . . judgment of origin | judicial doom . . . spell of knowledge*.' With this must be put the fact that for purposes of divination Irish druids often used rods of yew with ogham words cut upon them.⁴ For example, when Etáin, the queen of king Eochaid Airem, is carried off by the fairy king Midir, the druid Dalán, to find out where she is, 'made four rods of yew, and he writes an ogham thereon; and by his keys of knowledge, and by his ogham, it is revealed to him that Etáin is in the Fairy Mound of Breg Leith, having been carried into it by Midir.' Dr. Stokes⁵ compares the practice at Praeneste, where oracles were drawn from slips of oak engraved with ancient characters.

¹ *Id. ib.* xvi. 278 f.

² *Supra* p. 53.

³ 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xv. 420 has: 'Or Mugna from *moo-gnia*, that is, greatest of sister's sons, because *gnia* means a sister's son, as is said in the *Bretha Nemed* ("Judgments of the Notables") *gnia sethar*, that is a sister's son. He was indeed a son.' On which Dr. Stokes comments: 'Christ apparently is referred to. His Virgin mother is called "our sister" in the Féilire, Dec. 14, and in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *niae* and *sethor*.' K. Meyer *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* Halle 1906 i. 216 s.v. 'bile' cites the following usage 'of Christ: a bile an betha! Hib. Min. 43, 10.'

⁴ Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 230, cp. *ib.* 248, 397 f.

⁵ Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* xii. 440 f. The foregoing extract is cited by him from Egerton 1782, fo. 118^a 2.

The yew of Ross was also the 'faggot (?) of sages'; and in the Irish tale entitled the *Adventures of the Lad of the Ferule*¹ the hero can always boil a cauldron by means of three magical billets of yew, which he carries with him.

If, as I have urged, these sacred trees (*bile*) were the visible symbols of the sky-god in his darker aspect (*Balar, Beli, Bile*), we should expect to find them connected with priestly kings; for the sky-god, whether bright or dark, must needs have his human representative. In point of fact the one thing stated of all five *bile* is just this connexion with a king or kings:—

The oak of Mugna	}	according to one account were hid-
The ash of Dathe		den until the birth of Conn of
The ash of Tortu	}	the Hundred Battles:
The yew of Ross		according to another account were
		first seen in the time of the sons
		of Ugaine.
The oak of Mugna	}	according to one account fell to-
The ash of Uisnech		gether in the time of the sons
The ash of Tortu	}	of Aed Sláne.
		According to another account the
		oak of Mugna fell in the time of
		Domnall son of Murchad.

The naming of these kings is no mere method of dating. Such a phrase as 'it was for a long while hidden until the birth of Conn' implies a sympathy between the tree and the king, of which we shall see other examples. *Bile* and *Beli*, who bore the name of the sacred tree, were respectively king of Spain and king of Britain. Moreover, there was, we may be sure, a meaning in the metaphor by which the term *bile* was applied to a prince.²

¹ Ed. by Douglas Hyde in *Irish Texts Society* London 1899 i. 4 ff.

² K. Meyer *Contrib. to Irish Lex.* i. 216 s.v. 'bile,' 'metaph. of a prince: *bili torten bfer mBrefni*, H. 3. 18, p. 769. in *bile búada*, LL. 307639.'

The European Sky-God.

Again, the allusion to a poet in four cases out of five is not without significance :—

The oak of Mugna was cast down by Ninine the poet.	}
The ash of Dathe killed the poet Dathen.	
The ash of Tortu seems to have been the residence of the poet Bimudine.	
The yew of Ross was hymned at length by the poet Druim Suithe.	

Remembering the very close connexion between the poets (*fileadh*) and the druids of ancient Ireland,¹ we may fairly infer that these sacred trees were so many centres of a definitely organised cult.

Further, some explanation must be provided of the fact that the word *bile* came to mean 'a champion.' The latest Irish-English Dictionary, that by the Rev. P. S. Dinneen,² attributes the following senses to the word: 'a mast; a tree, *esp.* in a fort or beside a holy well; a large tree; a scion, a progenitor, a champion.' The full force of this signification we are not yet in a position to explain. But in the meantime I would observe that the wood of the sacred tree was sometimes at least used for the fabrication of a hero's shield or spear. From the wood of Balar's hazel a shield was made for Manannán, from whom it came to Tadg, and ultimately to Finn.³ A poem by Dallan Forgaill 'Upon the arms of Duach Dubh, king of Oirgiall' states that the shaft of Duach's spear was formed of the yew of Ross.⁴ Another poem by the same author 'Upon the shield of Hugh, king of Oirgiall' informs us further that Hugh, son of Duach,

¹ O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 48 ff. Prof. O'Curry states (*ib.* p. 48) that 'it very often happened that these two characters (*sc.* poet and druid) were united in the same person.'

² P. S. Dinneen *An Irish-English Dictionary* London 1904 s.v. 'bile.'

³ *Supra* p. 58 f.

⁴ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 12 f.

had a shield made for him by Eohy the druid out of the same tree.¹ There is extant also an Irish narrative, which tells how eager the king of Brefney was to secure the famous shield: it was known as Duv-Gilla ('the Black Attendant'), and the possession of it conferred victory in war, since before it all became as feeble as old women.² A similar belief may underlie the words in which, according to the *Fate of the Children of Tuirenn*,³ Brian praised the magic spear of the king of Persia—

‘A yew-tree, the finest of the wood,
It is called King without opposition.
May that splendid shaft drive on
Yon crowd into their wounds of death.’

This spear was destined to play an important part in Irish tradition, being known successively as the *Luin Cheltchair*, that is the ‘Spear of Celtchair,’ a champion of Ulster in the time of king Conobar mac Nessa, as the *Crimall*, or ‘Blood-spotted’ Spear, of king Cormac mac Airt, and as the *Gai Buaifneach*, or ‘Venomed Spear’ of Aengus, the champion who with it put out king Cormac’s eye.⁴

Lastly, *bile* means ‘progenitor’—which brings us round to our starting point once more. I have but a word to add. With *Bile* the forefather of the Gaels and *Beli* the forefather of the Britons should be compared the names *Bile*, *Bili*, and *Beli*, which occur repeatedly in the lists of the early Pictish kings.⁵

We are left, then, face to face with the following

¹ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 153, 258 ff.

² *Ib.* v. 2 ff.

³ *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 101. Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 41 renders: ‘A yew, the most beautiful of the wood, it is called a king, it is not bulky. May the spear drive on the whole crowd to their wounds of death.’

⁴ See for details O’Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 325 ff.

⁵ *Skene Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* pp. xcv, cxxii, 15, 74, 123, 134, 145, 355.

facts. The Celtic sky-god in his darker aspect, from whom the Insular, like the Continental, Celts traced their descent, was somehow related to a king, a sacred tree, and a champion, all alike bearing his name. The precise nature of that relation should not be obscure to those who have followed my previous papers. It will, I hope, be clearly demonstrated in the sequel.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.



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The European Sky-God. V. The Celts (Continued)

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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

V. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

MANX tradition knows nothing of Nuada or of Bile. In their stead it tells of Manannan, a god in some respects comparable to them both; for he too had pretensions to control the atmosphere, the sea, and the world of the dead. He used to exhibit his power over the air by enshrouding his eponymous island in mist, whenever an assailant tried to find the way thither.¹ Moreover, he was closely related to Lug the sun-god: not only does Lug ride the horse² and wear the armour³ of Manannan, but in one ancient tale⁴ Lug actually appears as king in Manannan's palace.⁵ Commonly, however, Manannan was connected with the watery element. 'Scots and Brittons,' says Cormac, 'called him a sea-god and declared that he was sprung from the sea, *i.e. mac Lir*, "son of

¹ J. Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 284, 314.

² Rhys *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 p. 221 f.

³ C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 p. 89.

⁴ *Infra* p. 157 f.

⁵ A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal* London 1895 i. 292 f. rightly insists on the 'close alliance between Manannan and Lug,' and points out that the Celtic Manannan as chariot-driving and steed-possessing god of the western wonderland has important features in common with the Greek Helios. Note also that the annual tribute of rushes brought on Midsummer Eve to two hill-tops in the Isle of Man, and there presented to Manannan (Rhys *Celtic Folklore* i. 314), implies a sun-god, or at least a sky-god.

Dr. O'Donovan, commenting on Cormac's account of Manannan, states that, 'according to the traditions in the Isle of Man and the Eastern counties of Leinster this first man of Man rolled on three legs like a wheel through

Sea.”¹ Manxmen, he might have added, speak of him always by the more primitive title *mac y Lear*, ‘son of the Sea.’² Mounted on his two-wheeled chariot he drove across the foaming waves, when he was minded to visit Erin.³ Or else he came riding on horseback⁴; for he possessed a magic horse, which was swifter than the spring wind and travelled with equal speed by land or sea,⁵ not to mention a magic coracle, which propelled and guided itself.⁶ By merely shaking his mantle he could raise a storm,⁷ and still it again by his druid spells.⁸ Lastly, his island home, dimly descried on the horizon, was regarded as a Celtic Elysium or Paradise, and he himself as a Celtic Hades.⁹ His Welsh analogue Manawyddan mab Llyr was likewise lord of the Otherworld.¹⁰ In that capacity perhaps he constructed a ghastly prison in Gower, the bone-fortress of Oeth and Anoeth, shaped like a beehive and built of human bones bonded with mortar: in this he immured those whom he caught trespassing on his domains.¹¹

Manannan is said to have been the first king of the

the mist.’ If these traditions were reliable, we should have every right to regard Manannan as solar (cp. *Classical Review* xviii. 326 f.): but they may have sprung from the armorial bearings introduced into the island as late as the thirteenth century by Alexander iii. of Scotland, and ultimately derived from the Sicilian *triskeles* (Count Goblet d’Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* London 1894 p. 21 n. 1, A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 214).

¹ *Cormac’s Glossary* trans. by J. O’Donovan ed. by Whitley Stokes p. 114. Cp. the *Cóir Anmann* 156 in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iii. 357.

² Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 549.

³ Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 134 f.

⁴ A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances of Ireland* London 1905 i. 84.

⁵ Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 60, 89, 98.

⁶ *Id. ib.*

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 129.

⁸ *Id. ib.* p. 237.

⁹ *Id. ib.* p. 133 ff.

¹⁰ *Id. ib.* p. 270.

¹¹ Rhys *The Hibbert Lectures 1886* ed. 3 London 1898 p. 667 f., *Arthurian Legend* p. 347, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 619 n. 1.

Isle of Man¹; and Manawyddan, his counterpart in Wales, shared the realm of Dyved with Pryderi, son of Pwyll.² In view of the series of Irish kings named Nuada,³ of Dumnonian kings named Nudd or Nud or Nudos,⁴ of British kings named Lludd or Lud or Loth or Lot,⁵ and of Pictish kings named Bile or Bili or Beli,⁶ it would be unsafe to conclude that the kingship of Manannan and Manawyddan existed merely in the brains of mediaeval euhemerists. It may well have been that certain kings of the Insular Celts posed as embodiments of the god Manannan or Manawyddan.

Manannan, like Nuada and Bile, had his sacred trees. His palace on a sea-girt isle was known as Emhain of the Apple-trees⁷; and of those who were privileged to visit it several fascinating folk-tales are told. These tales are indeed more or less familiar to English readers, thanks to the charming translations of Lady Gregory⁸ and the scholarly investigations of Mr. A. Nutt.⁹ But they have such an important bearing on the subject now in hand, that I must briefly summarise them before proceeding further with my argument.

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 663, *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 241. G. W. Larminie *West Irish Folk-tales and Romances* (London 1898) p. 64 ff. "King Mananaun."

² *The Mabinogion* trans. Lady Charlotte Guest ed. A. Nutt London 1904 p. 43 ff. 'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr.'

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 32 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* xvii. 35 ff.

⁵ *Ib.* xvii. 48 ff.

⁶ *Ib.* xvii. 70.

⁷ *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 60, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 101. Manannan had the reputation of wandering through Ireland in human form doing tricks and wonders: on such occasions 'all the food he would use would be a vessel of sour milk and a few crab-apples' (*ead. ib.* p. 110).

⁸ Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* London 1904 pp. 110 ff., 115 ff., 124 ff., 126 ff., 136 ff., 431 ff., and *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* London 1903 p. 276 ff.

⁹ A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal* London 1895-1897.

To begin with, there is a group of four tales, two of them very ancient and two more recent, dealing with the adventures of Bran and Connla, Oisín and Cúchulainn.

First and foremost *The Voyage of Bran*.¹ Once upon a time Bran, son of Febal, was out near his *dun*, when he heard behind him music so sweet that he fell asleep. On awaking he found at his side a silver branch covered with white blossoms. He took it in his hand to his royal house; and there in the presence of his hosts a woman in strange raiment appeared and sang as follows—

‘A branch of the apple-tree from Emain
I bring, like those one knows;
Twigs of white silver are on it,
Crystal brows with blossoms.

There is a distant isle,
Around which sea-horses glisten:
A fair course against the white-swelling surge,—
Four feet uphold it.

A delight of the eyes, a glorious range,
Is the plain on which the hosts hold games:
Coracle contends against chariot
In southern Mag Findargat [White-Silver Plain].

.

An ancient tree (*bile*) there is with blossoms,
On which birds call to the Hours.
'Tis in harmony it is their wont
To call together every Hour.

.

At sunrise there will come
A fair man illumining level lands;

¹ An edition with text, translation, and notes by Kuno Meyer is included in Mr. Nutt's work i. 1-100. See also H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 322 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 110 ff. The existing text of *The Voyage of Bran* appears to be at least as old as the ninth century A.D. (Nutt *op. cit.* pp. 135, 141).

He rides upon the fair sea-washed plain,
He stirs the ocean till it is blood.

A host will come across the clear sea,
To the land they show their rowing ;
Then they row to the conspicuous stone,
From which arise a hundred strains.¹

It sings a strain unto the host
Through long ages, it is not sad,
Its music swells with choruses of hundreds—
They look for neither decay nor death.'

These and other verses of a like tenor she sang, ending with an appeal to Bran that he should go in search of so fair a country without delay. Then she vanished ; and with her went the silver branch, which leapt from Bran's hand to hers, nor could he hold it back. Next day Bran set out with thirty followers ; and two days later they met Manannan himself crossing the sea in his chariot. He too urged Bran to press forward, and told him that before sunset he should reach Emhain. On the way thither Bran passed the Island of Joy, where one of his men was put ashore and would not return on ship-board. Shortly afterwards they reached Emhain, and found it peopled with women. The queen of the place proved to be the unknown woman that had summoned Bran at the first. She and her attendants entertained him and his company in a grand house, which had accommodation for every couple. Here they stayed, enjoying one perpetual feast. At length, when they had been there, as they supposed, for a year, they returned to Ireland, taking with them their comrade from the Island of Joy. At Srub Brain they learnt that they had in reality been absent for hundreds of years. Nechtan mac Collbrain, who sprang ashore, at once became a heap of ashes. Bran, warned by Nechtan's fate, continued his wanderings without touching land.

¹ *Infra* p. 157 n. 3.

Next for *The Adventures of Connla*.¹ Connla of the Red Hair, son of Conn the Hundred-fighter, king of Ireland (122-157 A.D.), was once with his father on the hill of Uisnech, when he saw coming towards him a woman clothed in wondrous attire. She told him that she came from the land of the Ever-living Ones, where there was no death, but perpetual feasting and felicity. At this Conn asked with whom his son was speaking. The woman made answer in song:

‘He speaks with a damsel young, beautiful, high-born,
Who dies not nor grows old.
I have loved Connla of the Red Hair,—I invite him to Magh Mell
[The Pleasant Plain],
Where is a king victorious, everlasting,—a king who has caused in his
country neither grievance nor sorrow
Since he seized on the throne.
Come to me, Connla of the Red Hair, thou whose neck hath two colours,
thou who hast the hue of flame.
It is a yellow diadem that is thy due.
Above thy purple face,—’twill be the perpetual token of the royal dignity
of thy features.
If thou hearkenest, never will be seen to wither—the youth of thy form, its
beauty
Attractive for aye.’

Conn then turned to Coran his druid and asked him to sing spells against the woman. Coran did so, and she

¹The Irish text of this tale was published with a glossary by Windisch *Kuragefasste irische Grammatik* p. 118 ff. There are French translations by G. Dottin in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* xiv. 64 ff., and by H. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* Paris 1892 p. 385 ff.; English versions by the Rev. Father MacSwiney in the *Gaelic Journal* ii. 307, by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 124 ff., and by J. Jacobs *Celtic Fairy Tales* London 1892 p. 1 ff. O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 318 f. holds that the story of Connla was composed before 1000 A.D.: cp. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 146 ff. Prof. H. Zimmer in his ‘Keltische Beiträge ii.’ (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xxxiii. 261 ff.) refers the tale in its present form to the seventh century. [Prof. A. L. Brown *Iwain* 1903 regards it as belonging to an older stratum of the Otherworld visit than that of Bran.—A.N.] And Mr. J. Jacobs *op. cit.* p. 244 calls it ‘the earliest fairy-tale of modern Europe.’

departed, but ere she went flung an apple to Connla. For a whole month Connla lived on that apple, caring for no other meat or drink. Then the woman appeared once more to him, when he was with his father in Magh Archomnim, and repeated her invitation :

‘ The Ever-living Ones are calling for thee.
Thou art the hero of the men of Tethra.’

Conn sent again for Coran. But Connla, save for the grief that he felt at parting with those he loved, was willing enough to go with the woman. She bade him step on board her boat of glass, and promised that all his sorrows should disappear in the divine city of the conqueror. Though the sun was setting, they would be there before night fell, in the land of joy, where none dwelt but women and girls. Hereupon Connla with one bound sprang on board the boat of glass and put out to sea. Conn and his companions watched from the shore, till the boat bearing his son and the woman became a speck in the distance and vanished to return no more.

The tale of Oisín,¹ written down in the eighteenth century by the folk-singer Michael Comyn, is perhaps a thousand years later than the tales of Bran and Connla; yet it preserves essentially the same conceptions. Oisín, son of Finn, was one misty morning hunting with his father near Loch Lein, when a beautiful young queen riding a fleet white horse approached them. She wore a royal crown; her steed, a silver wreath. She gave her name as Niamh of the Golden Head, and said that her father was king over the Country of the Young.

¹ A text and translation of this tale were published by Bryan O’Looney in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 227 ff. Another English rendering is given by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 431 ff. See also D’Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 362 f., Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 149 ff.

She had come to claim Finn's son as her husband. To Oisín, who fell in love with her at sight, she described her home:

'It is the country is most beautiful of all that are under the sun; the trees are stooping down with fruit and with leaves and with blossom.

Honey and wine are plentiful there, and everything the eye has ever seen; no wasting will come on you with the wasting away of time; you will never see death or lessening.

.

You will get the royal crown of the King of the Young that he never gave to any one under the sun. It will be a shelter to you night and day in every rough fight and in every battle.'

Oisín, dazzled by the prospect, bade his father farewell, and went off with Niamh on the white horse across the sea. On their way, among other marvels, they saw a young girl on a brown horse pursued by a young man on a white horse: the girl held a golden apple; the man had a crimson cloak and a gold-hilted sword. In the Country of the Young, the Country of Victory, Oisín wedded Niamh. He had by her two sons and a daughter, on whom she bestowed a wreath and crown of kingly gold. Three hundred years later he was fain to revisit Erin, and did so, traversing the sea on the white horse. He was, however, warned by Niamh not to dismount from his charger, on pain of becoming an old man withered and blind. In a moment of forgetfulness he disobeyed her bidding, and paid the penalty.

In *The Sick-bed of Cúchulainn*,¹ one of the best-known episodes of the Ultonian cycle, occurs a parallel to the

¹There is a text and translation by O'Curry in *Atlantis* i. 362 ff., ii. 98 ff., by Bryan O'Looney in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* 1874-1878 i. pl. 37 f., ii. appendix 4, A-I; a text and paraphrase by Windisch in *Irische Texte* i. 197 ff.; a French rendering by G. Dottin and H. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 170 ff.; English renderings by Lady Gregory *Cúchulainn of Muirthemne* p. 276 ff. and, more literally, by A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances* i. 51 ff.

foregoing tales. Fand, the wife of Manannan, when deserted by her husband, set her heart on Cuchulain. She sent Liban, wife of Labraid the Swift, to summon him to Magh Mell. Liban told Cuchulain that Labraid would agree to the union, if Cuchulain would help him in battle against Senach the Unearthly and Eochaid Juil and Yeogan the Stream. Cuchulain thereupon bade Laegh his charioteer go with Liban to discover what manner of place Magh Mell might be. Laegh found that he needed Liban's protection on the journey: indeed, we read that 'she set him upon her shoulder.' At last they came over against an island, to which they crossed in a boat of bronze. There they saw Fand in the palace of Labraid. On his return to Cuchulain Laegh described the palace thus:

'On its east side are standing
Three bright purple trees¹ (*bile*)
Whence the birds' songs, oft ringing
The king's children please.

From a tree in the fore-court
Sweet harmony streams;
It stands silver, yet sunlit
With gold's glitter gleams.

Sixty trees' swaying summits
Now meet, now swing wide;
Rindless food for thrice hundred
Each drops at its side.

Near a well by that palace
Gay cloaks spread out lie,
Each with splendid gold fastening
Well hooked through its eye.

They who dwell there, find flowing
A vat of good ale:
'Tis ordained that for ever
That vat shall not fail.

¹ Mr. Leahy, whose metrical rendering I quote, would emend the MS. *tri bile do chorcor glain*, 'three trees of purple glass,' into *tri bile do chorcor glan*, 'three trees of bright purple.' But cp. the crystal tree of Lough Erne (*infra* p. 169).

From the hall steps a lady
 Well gifted, and fair :
 None is like her in Erin ;
 Like gold is her hair.

And so sweet, and so wondrous
 Her words from her fall,
 That with love and with longing
 She breaks hearts of all.¹

Cuchulain went, and slew Labraid's foes, and stayed with Fand for a month. At the end of that time he agreed to meet her by Ibar Cinn Tracta, the yew at the head of Baile's strand. But Emer, Cuchulain's wife, heard of it and came to the same trysting-tree. Cuchulain did not know with which to side, the fairy queen or the mortal; and the situation was saved by the sudden appearance of Manannan, who reclaimed Fand as his own and left Emer to Cuchulain.¹

Now there is obviously much food for reflection in these old Celtic tales of the Otherworld. But the

¹A partial parallel to *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain* is the tale of *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 290 f., D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique*, p. 356 ff., A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 180 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 136 ff.). Laegaire Liban, son of Crimthan Cass, the king of Connaught, was out one day with his father near Loch na-n Ean, the Lake of Birds, when a splendid warrior was seen approaching through the mist. It was Fiachna, son of Betach, who asked for help against Goll, son of Dalbh, king of a people of Magh Mell. Laegaire with fifty of his followers agreed to help him, and plunged with him into the Lake. Here they slew Goll and rescued Fiachna's wife, whom he had carried off. Fiachna in token of his gratitude bestowed his own daughter Deorgreine, a Tear of the Sun, on Laegaire, and fifty other women on Laegaire's followers. At the end of a year Laegaire and his men returned home on horseback, but were straightly charged not to dismount. Accordingly, they could but bid their assembled friends farewell and go back again to Lakeland. Unfortunately neither Fiachna nor Laegaire gave a detailed account of Magh Mell. What struck Laegaire most was a rain of ale, and the delight of drinking from gleaming goblets to the sound of melodious music. He brought back thirty caldrons and thirty drinking-horns in proof of his assertions; and then returned to share the kingdom of Magh Mell with Fiachna, his father-in-law.

points that I should like to emphasize are the following:

- (1) The Elysian palace has growing beside it a silver apple-tree (*Bran*), or a silver tree glittering in the sunlight like gold and surrounded by trees that drop 'rindless food' (*Cuchulain*).
- (2) A silver branch from the Elysian tree is brought to a king or a king's son (*Bran*); or at least an apple from the same tree is given to him (*Connla*).¹
- (3) The hero mates with the Queen of Elysium and so becomes its king (*Bran, Connla, Oisín, Cuchulain*).²

Bearing in mind these points, let us next pass in review sundry other tales in which the apple-tree and the silver branch reappear, though the actual mating of the hero with the Elysian queen is toned down into a matter of mere entertainment.

First among this later group will be the *Adventures of Cormac*.³ Cormac mac Airt, king of Ireland, was one May morning on the Mound of Tea in Tara, when a grey-haired warrior drew near, dressed in a shirt of gold

¹ Cp. the golden apple seen by Oisín (*supra* p. 148), if not also the apple given by Eochu to Cuchulain which he was bidden to follow across the Plain of Ill-Luck (Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 34, D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 43).

² Cp. the marriage of Laegaire and Deogreine (*supra* p. 150 n. 1).

³ A text and translation by Whitley Stokes were published in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iii. 183 ff. There is a French version by D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 326 ff., and an English version by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 115 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 189 ff., who regards the tale as due to some twelfth- or thirteenth-century story-teller embodying in his didactic narrative a genuinely archaic conception of Manannan's realm. Text and translation of a later version are given by S. H. O'Grady in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* Dublin 1857 iii. 212 ff. This translation was abridged by Mr. Nutt for J. Jacobs *More Celtic Fairy Tales* London 1894 p. 204 ff.

thread, a purple mantle, and shoes of white bronze. This magnificent personage bore on his shoulder a branch of shining silver with nine¹ apples of red gold upon it. The branch, when shaken, made such entrancing music, that all who heard it, whatever their troubles, instantly fell asleep. To get the branch Cormac parted in succession with his daughter, his son, and his wife. Chagrined at their loss, he went in pursuit of them with all his host. But in the middle of the Plain of the Wall a thick mist came on, and, when it cleared off, Cormac found himself alone in a wide country. Before him was a *dun* with a wall of bronze and a house of silver half-thatched with white birds'-wings. A great troop of riders was engaged in thatching it; but, before they could complete their task, a wind would sweep the feathers from the roof. Next he saw a man kindling a fire and casting upon it one thick oak-tree after another; but, as often as he brought up a tree, he found the tree before it already burnt out. After this, Cormac came to a very large *dun*, in which stood a king's palace. It had beams of bronze and walls of silver, and was thatched with the wings of white birds. On the green was a shining well from which flowed five streams. Over the well grew the nine purple hazels of Buan. They dropped their nuts into the water; and the nuts were caught by five salmon, which sent the husks floating down the streams. In the palace Cormac was entertained by a comely man and woman who proved to be Manannan and his queen. Manannan gave him a golden cup, which could distinguish between truth and falsehood.² He also suffered him to retain the magic branch, and restored to him intact his wife, son, and daughter. Only he

¹ So O'Grady (p. 213), D'Arbois (p. 327) and Lady Gregory (p. 115): Whitley Stokes (p. 212) has 'three.'

² Cp. a crystal vessel possessed of the same power, which was brought from a fairy mound to King Badurn by his wife (Whitley Stokes *ib.* p. 209).

warned him that on the day of his death the cup and branch would be taken from him. Next morning, when Cormac awoke, he and his were together on the meads at Tara, and by his side the cup and branch. It should be added that the annals of Tighernach, who died in 1088 A.D.,¹ record at the year 248 A.D. the 'disappearance of Cormac, grandson of Conn, for seven months,' and that the same expression is used to describe the carrying off of Etain by the god Midir.²

The *Adventures of Tadg*³ have much in common with the *Adventures of Cormac*. Tadm was the son of Cian son of Oilioll Oluim, King of Munster, who died in 234 B.C.,⁴ and could therefore trace his descent back to Eber, one of the two surviving leaders of the Milesian expedition.⁵ This Tadm once set sail on the high seas looking for his wife and brothers, who had been captured by foreigners from Fresen. At the end of twenty days he reached an island full of monstrous sheep, and after that two more islands occupied by marvellous birds. Six weeks later, when Tadm and his men had weathered a fearful storm, they saw before them a pleasant land. Disembarking they passed through a wood and came to an apple-garden having red apples in it and leafy oak-trees and hazels yellow with nuts.⁶ In another wood were birds with white bodies, purple heads and golden beaks, eating round purple berries and making magical music. Further on the wanderers reached a flowery plain,

¹ O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 57 f., 517.

² D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 326 f.

³ Text and translation by S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* i. 342 ff., ii. 385 ff.; translation also by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 126 ff. See too A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 201 ff., who concludes that the tale shows didactic and Christian treatment of an ancient episode.

⁴ O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 208 f.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 207.

⁶ The combination of apples, oaks, and nuts, which meets us also in the story of *Cormac* (*supra* p. 152), recalls the sacred tree of Mugna that bore apples, nuts, and acorns in succession (*Folk-lore* xvii. 61).

on which stood three *duns*. A woman outside the first welcomed Tadhg, and told him that it was the *dun* of the kings of Ireland from Heremon to Conn the Hundred-fighter. She also informed him that the country was called Inislocha, the Lake Island, and was ruled by two kings, Rudrach and Dergcroche, sons of Bodb. Outside the second *dun* stood a fair queen in a golden robe, Cesair, daughter of Noah's son Bethra, the first woman that ever reached Ireland. She in turn welcomed Tadhg, and said that in her *dun* dwelt kings and chiefs such as Parthalon and Nemed, Fírbolgs and Tuatha Dé Danann. She gave the name of the country as Red Loch Island. On the top of the third *dun* Tadhg met a pair of lovers, young and comely, dressed in green and gold. They again welcomed him, and explained that they were Connla, son of Conn, and Veniusa, daughter of Adam, who had brought her lover from Ireland. Both of them were now ageless and painless; for they fed upon a golden apple, which Connla held in his hand. Ever and anon he would bite a third part of it; but it always regained its full size. Tadhg asked after the *dun* on this third hill, and was told that it was for future kings of Ireland. It had walls of white bronze set with crystal and carbuncles, which shone by night as well as by day. On looking out from the house Tadhg saw to one side of him a great sheltering apple-tree with blossoms and ripe fruit upon it. 'What is that apple-tree beyond?' said Tadhg. 'The fruit of that tree,' said Veniusa, 'is food for the host in this house. And it was an apple of that tree which brought Connla here to me: a good tree it is with its white-blossomed branches and its golden apples that would satisfy the whole house.' A troop of beautiful women next approached, led by Cliodna of the Fair Hair, who once more bade him welcome and said that they too fed on apples from that tree. But Tadhg, eager to find his own people, would not stay.

While Cliodna was speaking with him, three bright-coloured birds settled on the great apple-tree: each of them ate an apple and sang such music as would put sick men into their sleep. Cliodna promised that these birds should escort Tadg home to Ireland. She also gave him a beautiful green cup of such virtue that water poured into it turned to wine. He was, however, always to keep it by him; for, whenever it escaped from him, death would be near at hand. Tadg's companions thought that they had been only a day in the island; but Cliodna told them that they had in reality been there a whole year. They would fain have stayed longer; but Tadg was still minded to seek for his own people. So they all set sail together and, looking back, found the island already hidden by a druid mist. They were down-hearted for a while, till the birds began to sing and guided them, wrapped in a deep sleep, to Fresen. Here Tadg recovered his people, rested awhile, and then returned in safety to Ireland.

The tales of *Cormac* and *Tadg* differ from those of *Bran*, *Connla*, *Oisin*, etc., not only inasmuch as the hero is not actually married to the Elysian queen, but also because he receives a magic cup tenable for life, and returns home in safety. On the other hand, there are important points of agreement between the two groups of tales. Tadg, like Bran, sees a great apple-tree growing beside the Elysian palace. And Cormac, like Bran, is presented with a silver apple-branch.

Somewhere between the two groups may be placed *The Voyage of Mael-Duin*,¹ in which we get at once the marriage and the safe return. The fairy isle has indeed

¹ Text and translation by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* ix. 446 ff., x. 50 ff. French translation by F. Lot in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 449 ff. English versions by O'Looney in P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 112 ff. and by A. Nutt in J. Jacobs *The Book of Wonder Voyages* London 1896 p. 87 ff.

multiplied into a whole archipelago, and the characteristic features of the Otherworld are consequently scattered abroad; but even a cursory reading of the tale will enable us to piece together the principal fragments. In episode xxviii. Mael-Duin and his seventeen followers mate with the queen of a large island and her seventeen daughters. But in episode xvii., by a sudden blend of Christian with pagan thought, their hostess on another island entertains them, and refuses to do more, on the ground that she knows no sin. A third island, described in episode x., had many trees bearing golden apples, which were eaten during the day-time by beasts resembling red pigs, and at night by a flock of birds. The island had a burning-hot soil and was called a land of fire. Mael-Duin and his comrades entered it by night and carried off some of the golden apples, which preserved them from hunger and thirst. Yet another island, that of episode vii., had a long, narrow forest upon it. On reaching the forest, Mael-Duin took in hand a branch, which he held for three days and nights, while skirting the cliffs of the island. On the third day he found a cluster of three apples on the tip of his branch; and each of these apples supported him and his men for forty nights. Ultimately, in episode xxxiv., he and they returned in safety to Ireland. It seems fairly certain that in these scattered incidents we have the *disjecta membra* of an ancient tale comparable with those already related, and in particular that the original tale contained an allusion to a tree with golden apples growing in a far-off isle, and a branch with apples on it borne by the hero.

But it is time to consider the significance of this tree and this branch.¹ Much-needed light is thrown upon

¹ Miss E. Hull has a short but scholarly article on 'The Silver Bough in Irish Legend' in *Folk-lore* xii. 431-445. She rightly insists that the nearest parallel to the Golden Bough of Virgilian fame is to be found in the Silver Bough of Irish mythology, observing that in both cases the

the subject by the Irish tract known as the *Bailé an Scáil* or 'Ecstasy of the Champion.'¹ Conn, king of Ireland, who died in 157 A.D. or thereabouts,² used to repair every day at sunrise to the battlements of the royal *rath* at Tara, along with three druids, for fear lest any aerial foes should descend upon Erin unperceived by him. One morning he happened to tread upon a stone, which screamed under his feet. Conn asked the cause, and, at the end of fifty-three days, one of the druids replied that the stone was named Fal, that it came from Inis Fáil or the Island of Fal, and that the number of the shrieks uttered by it was the number of kings who should succeed Conn to the end of time.³ While the king pondered this intelligence, he suddenly found himself and his companions enveloped in a mist. A horseman drew near and thrice cast a spear towards them, each

bough belongs to the presiding goddess of the unseen world and enables a favoured mortal to enter that world during his life-time. But Miss Hull wrongly (to my thinking) discredits the connexion of Virgil's Golden Bough and, by implication, of the Irish Silver Bough, with the branch plucked by the would-be king at Nemi. In my next article I shall hope to set in a clearer light the substantial similarity of all three. Again, Miss Hull is content to regard the Silver Bough as 'the magic talisman insuring safety and nourishment in the invisible world.' She offers no solution to the questions—Why should the goddess of the Otherworld have had a silver tree with golden apples? And why should a mortal monarch have been privileged to bear a branch of it? Indeed, these questions could hardly have been solved without a much wider survey of facts than Miss Hull allowed herself to take.

I ought to add that I did not read Miss Hull's paper until my present paper was complete, so that my collection of evidence is independent of hers.

¹ Edited and translated by O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 387 ff., 618 ff., from a fifteenth century MS. (Harleianus 5280) in the British Museum. The tract itself may have been composed about 1000 A.D. (O'Curry *ib.* p. 419). There is a French rendering of it in D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 301 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 186 ff.

² D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 301 n. 1.

³ With this shrieking stone cp. 'the conspicuous stone, From which arise a hundred strains' at Emhain of the Apple-trees (*supra* p. 145), and perhaps the Blowing Stone in White Horse Vale (*vide* my next article).

time coming closer than before. The druid exclaimed: 'It is the wounding of a king indeed, whoever shoots at Conn in Tara.' At this the strange horseman desisted and welcomed Conn to his house. The house was a kingly *rath* standing in a beautiful plain. At its door was a golden tree. The roof-tree of the house itself was of white metal. In the house they found a damsel wearing a crown of gold, with a vat full of red ale, a golden ladle and a golden cup before her. The unknown champion seated himself on a king's throne and spoke as follows: 'I am not a champion indeed, and I reveal to thee part of my mystery and of my renown. It is after death I have come, and I am of the race of Adam. Lug, son of Edlenn¹ son of Tighernmas, is my name. What I have come for is to reveal to thee the life of thine own sovereignty and of every sovereign that shall be in Tara.' He further declared that the crowned maiden was the sovereignty of Erin for ever. She thereupon presented Conn with a gigantic ox-rib and the rib of a boar. She likewise gave him the silver pail and the golden ladle and cup. The cup she filled time after time with red ale, once for every monarch whose name and destined reign were pronounced by Lug.

Lug here presides over an Elysian palace with a golden tree, which can hardly be separated from the silver tree with golden gleams in the tale of *Cuchulain*,² the silver apple-tree in the tale of *Bran*,³ the great sheltering apple-tree with golden apples in the tale of *Tadg*,⁴ and the trees with golden apples in the tale of *Mael-Duin*.⁵ But Lug is beyond question a sun-god.⁶ It would seem, then, that these Elysian apple-trees are so many variations of

¹ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 112 n. 1 argues that this is a mistake for 'Lug, son of Ethne daughter of Tighernmas.'

² *Supra* p. 149. ³ *Supra* p. 144. ⁴ *Supra* p. 154. ⁵ *Supra* p. 156.

⁶ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 383 ff., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 62.

a celestial or solar tree. This agrees well with certain conclusions that we have already reached. For we have seen reason to think that the apple-tree was a Celtic equivalent of the oak as the tree of the sky-god,¹ nay more, that in the ritual of Samain the apple may have symbolised the sun itself.² Further, we thus obtain strong confirmation of the solar powers of Manannan;³ since in the stories of *Bran* and *Cuchulain* the silver tree was expressly said to grow beside the palaces of Manannan and of Fand. In this connexion it is to be noticed that Giraldus Cambrensis⁴ speaks of a lake in north Munster containing two islands, one large, the other small. 'In the smaller island,' says he, 'no one ever dies, was ever known to die, or could die a natural death. It is consequently called the Isle of the Living . . . I have thought it right to notice this because it is mentioned in the first pages of the Scholastic History, which treats of the inhabitants of islands of this description. The tree of the sun is also there (Petrus Comestor *hist. schol.* i. 24), spoken of, concerning which king Alexander writes to Aristotle, that whoever eats of the fruit prolongs his life to an immense period.' Giraldus does not definitely state, but he surely implies, that on the small island in the Munster lake such a sun-tree was growing. Other evidence of sun-trees in Ireland will be forthcoming.⁵

Bran who bore a branch of the silver apple-tree,⁶ Cormac who carried a silver branch with nine golden apples on it,⁷ Mael-Duin whose branch was topped by three apples,⁸ and Connla who subsisted on a golden apple,⁹ were on this showing just mortals exercising the rights of the sun-god. This exalted claim was no exceptional prerogative ascribed to a few privileged heroes,

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 56 ff.

² *Ib.* xvii. 58.

³ *Supra* p. 141.

⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis *top. Hib.* 2. 4 trans. T. Wright London 1905 p. 61 f.

⁵ *Vide* my next article.

⁶ *Supra* p. 144.

⁷ *Supra* p. 151.

⁸ *Supra* p. 156.

⁹ *Supra* pp. 147, 154.

but, if I am not much mistaken, a common attribute of early Irish kings. In the Royal House at Emain Macha, where Conchobar king of Ulster kept his court, there was a chamber faced with bronze below and silver above, surmounted by golden birds glittering with carbuncles. Over Conchobar himself rose a silver wand with three golden apples on it. When he shook this wand or raised his voice, all in the house became absolutely silent.¹ Sometimes he would strike his silver wand against the bronze post of his chamber,² and so allay a quarrel. Similarly in the palace at Cruachan, the capital of Connaught, Ailill and Medb had a chamber faced with silver and bronze: beside the couch and in front of Ailill was a silver wand, with which he used to strike the central post of his palace when he wished to rebuke people.³ A

¹ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 12 f., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 43. Cp. O'Curry *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* London 1873 i. p. cccxlvii n. 598 'The couch of Conchobar was in the front of the house. It had pillars of *Creduma* [copper or bronze], with capitals of gold on their heads, and gems of *Carrmocal* [carbuncles] in them, so that the day and the night were equally lightsome in it [the house]. It had a *Steill* or canopy of silver over the king, extending to the *Ardliss*, or top of the kingly house. When Conchobar used to strike the *Steill*, with a kingly silver rod, the Ultonians all became silent. The twelve couches of the twelve champions encircled that couch all round' (from the Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 5280 and the *Lebor na h-Uidri* p. 121 col. 1).

² D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 95, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 56.

³ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 118, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 149. Cp. O'Curry *Manners and Customs* i. p. cccxlviii n. 598 'The couch of Ailill and Medb [was] in the middle of the house; a facing of silver all around it, and a *Steill* of *Creduma*; a wand of silver in front of the couch before Ailill; it would reach the middle of the *Liss* of the house to pacify the household at all times' (from the *Lebor na h-Uidri* p. 107 col. 1), *eund. ib.* iii p. 10 f. and A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances* ii. 16 'Four beams of brass on the apartment of Ailill and Medb, adorned all with bronze, and it in the exact centre of the house. Two rails of silver around it under gilding. In the front a wand of silver that reached the middle rafters of the house' (*Tain bo Fraich* or 'Driving of the Cattle of Fraech').

trace of the same custom may be detected in the folk-ditty about the Red Etin:¹

‘The Red Etin of Ireland
Ance lived in Bellygan,
And stole King Malcolm’s daughter,
The King of fair Scotland.
He beats her, he binds her,
He lays her on a band;
And every day he dings her
With a bright silver wand.’

Indeed, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the royal sceptre of the Insular Celts was but a modified form of the gold-and-silver apple-branch betokening the solar king.

If the Irish king was thus intimately connected with the tree of the sun-god, we can understand the dream of Cathair. According to the Rennes *Dinnsenchus*,² Cathair dreamt of a high hill, on which stood a tree shining like gold and reaching to the clouds. In its leaves was every melody; and its fruits, when shaken by the wind, specked the ground. Puzzled by his dream, Cathair consulted the wizard Bri, who interpreted the tree as none other than Cathair himself lording it over Ireland in his liberality.

Again, if the Irish king was believed to exercise solar powers, some of the curious prohibitions and privileges attaching to his office become intelligible. A poem by Cuan O’Lothchain,³ apparently addressed to the door-keeper of king Malachy II., who came to the throne in 979 A.D., mentions seven prohibitions and seven privileges. Among the former is the rule that the king ‘should not let the sun rise upon him in his bed in the plain of Tara’: this, taken in connexion with the practice of

¹ A. Lang *The Blue Fairy Book* London 1889 p. 385 ff. ‘The Red Etin’ (from Chambers *Popular Traditions of Scotland*), J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* ed. 3 London 1898 p. 131 ff. ‘The Red Ettin.’

² Whitley Stokes ‘The Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ in the *Revue celtique* xv. 430 f.

³ O’Curry *Manners and Customs* ii. 141.

Conn recorded above,¹ proves that sunrise was regarded as a daily recurring crisis for the Irish king. The seven privileges that he enjoyed were, says O'Lothchain, 'To be supplied with the fish of the river Boyne to eat; the deer of *Luibnech*; the fruit of *Manann* (the present Isle of Man); the heath-fruit of *Bri-Leith*; the cresses of the river *Brosnach*; the water of the well of *Tlachtga*; the hares of *Naas*. It was on the calends of August all these were brought to the king of *Temair* (Tara). And by way of blessing on the king, it was said that the year in which he eat of these did not count in his age, and he defeated his foes on all sides.' Now the fish of the Boyne may have stood for the divine and omniscient salmon that inhabited the well beneath Manannan's hazels:² the fruit of Manann is suggestive of Manannan's apples: Bri-Leath in county Longford was the seat of Midir, a fairy king of the Tuatha Dé Danann:³ Tlachtga was the centre from which fresh fire was distributed at Samain:⁴ and Naas in county Kildare was known as Lis Logha or Lis Luighdhech because it had been founded by Lug the sun-god,⁵ who on becoming king of Erin held his court there.⁶ In short, it looks as though the seven privileges of the Irish king were mostly, if not entirely, solar in character—an inference strengthened by the fact that the offerings in question were brought to him at Tara on August 1, *i.e.* on Lughnasad the festival of Lug.⁷ The king thus fed on solar fare was, like those that sojourned in the Elysian palace, for the time being untouched by decay or defeat.

¹ *Supra* p. 157.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 31, 39, *supra* p. 152.

³ O'Curry *Manners and Customs* ii. 193, iii. 163. On its 'heath-fruit' or 'whorts' see *ib.* i. p. cccclxxviii.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 30.

⁵ O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 478.

⁶ *Id.* *Manners and Customs* ii. 148. Nás, now Naas, was the ancient residence of the kings of Leinster (*id. ib.* iii. 25, 132).

⁷ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 138 f.

It is also highly significant that Bran¹ and Connla² and Cuchulain,³ to say nothing of Oisín⁴ and Mael-Duin,⁵ all mated with the queen, or rather goddess, who possessed the sun-tree, while Laegaire's bride bore the appropriate name Deorgreine, 'Tear of the Sun.'⁶ Another most remarkable case of this union between a mortal hero and a sun-goddess will be considered later.⁷ Meantime it is to be observed that marriage with the goddess of the sun-tree was the high destiny of every human king in Tara: this is implied by the crowned queen of the golden tree,⁸ who in the *Bailé an Scáil* pledges each monarch in succession, and is herself described as the sovereignty of Erin for ever.⁹

Another deduction of equal importance may be drawn from the same story. The husband of the crowned queen representing the sovereignty of Erin sat upon a king's throne and made two strangely contradictory statements—on the one hand, that he was a dead man ('It is after death I have come, and I am of the race of Adam'); on the other hand, that he was the sun-god ('Lug, son of Edlenn, son of Tighernmas, is my name').¹⁰ The contradiction vanishes, if we suppose that the kings of Tara were once regarded as re-incarnations of Lug the sun-god. Mr. A. Nutt in the second volume of his *Voyage of Bran* has convincingly demonstrated the large part played by re-birth legends in Irish mythology,¹¹ and in particular has shown that Cuchulain, the greatest of Irish heroes, was, according to variant versions of the tale, held to be¹²—

(1) a re-birth of Lug by Dechtire, sister of Conchobar :

¹ *Supra* p. 145. ² *Supra* pp. 146, 154. ³ *Supra* p. 149 f. ⁴ *Supra* p. 147 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 156. ⁶ *Supra* p. 150 n. 1. ⁷ *Vide* my next article.

⁸ A folk-tale from the Highlands tells of a king, who had a wife named Silver-tree and a daughter named Gold-tree (J. Jacobs *Celtic Fairy Tales* p. 88 ff). These names may be referred to the practice noted in the text.

⁹ *Supra* p. 158.

¹⁰ *Supra* *ib.*

¹¹ Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 1-97.

¹² *Id. ib.* ii. 38 ff.

- (2) son of Dechtire and an unnamed Lord of Faery, so described as to make his identification with Lug certain :

- (3) son of Dechtire and Conchobar.

Since Conchobar was one of those kings who bore a silver wand with golden apples on it,¹ *i.e.* who posed as the sun-god,—a consideration which explains why he was called ‘a terrestrial god’ and his sister Dechtire ‘a goddess’²—it matters little whether Cuchulain was the son of Lug or of Conchobar. The important thing is that he was thought to be Lug re-incarnate. And this re-incarnation tended to repeat itself; for, as Mr. Nutt points out,³ the warriors of Ulster, anxious that Cuchulain’s prowess should be perpetuated, urged him to wed on the ground ‘that his re-birth would be of himself.’ If Lug, then, was thus in the habit of re-appearing as a mortal champion, we need not shrink from concluding that the kings of Tara, exercising as they did the sun-god’s rights, were themselves but re-imbodiments of the same luminous deity. Well was Tara called Lughadh Lis or Lis Lughach,⁴ a name implying that its real owner was Lug. And well did Flann of Monasterboice, who died in 1056 A.D., begin his poem on the succession of the Tara kings with the line :

‘The Kings of Tara who were animated by fire.’⁵

It is not a little suggestive that, when the Milesians

¹ *Supra* p. 160.

² Rhŷs *Hibbert Lectures* p. 144 cites the *Book of the Dun* 101*b*, where Conchobar is described as a *dia talmaide*, or ‘terrestrial god,’ of the Ultonians of his time, and the *Book of Leinster* 123*b*, where Cuchulain is described as *me dea dechtiri*, ‘of (the) son of (the) goddess Dechtire.’

³ Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 96 f.

⁴ O’Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 479.

⁵ *Id. ib.* pp. 389 f., 622. When Dathi, king of Erin and of Albain, was killed in 428 A.D. by a flash of lightning, his men put a lighted sponge into his mouth in order to make it appear that the fire was nothing but his breath (J. O’Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 21 ff.).

first landed in Erin, they marched at once to Tara, the seat of government, and found the chief rule of the island shared between the three brothers Eathúr mac Cuill, Teathúr mac Céacht, and Ceathúr mac Gréine, *i.e.* Eathúr son of 'Hazel,' Teathúr son of 'Plough,' and Ceathúr son of 'Sun': Keating states that these kings reigned each in turn for a year, and derived their names from the fact that they worshipped respectively the Hazel, the Plough, and the Sun.¹ One might have expected that the god incarnate in the Tara dynasty would have been Nuada, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann,² not Lug. But Nuada, according to tradition, himself temporarily abdicated in favour of Lug, who for thirteen days sat on the king's throne at Tara.³

When dealing with analogous beliefs among the Greeks and Romans, I took occasion to show that the king's soul was supposed to escape in the form of a bird, and that its transmission to his successor was symbolised by the eagle-tipped sceptre handed down from king to king.⁴ *A priori*, then, we should look to find Lug and his re-births connected with birds. Nor are we disappointed. According to the treatise *de fluviis* ascribed to Plutarch,⁵ *λοῦγος* was a Celtic word for 'raven'; and this, as M. Salomon Reinach⁶ points out, squares well with what is known of the Celtic Lug or Lugus. Thus, when Lug slew Balar and hung his head in a hazel, that hazel became the dwelling-place of crows and ravens.⁷ And at the foundation of Lugudunum, the town of Lugus,⁸ ravens

¹ G. Keating *The History of Ireland* ed. David Comyn (*Irish Texts Society* vol. iv) London 1902 i. 223, cp. *ib.* i. 101, 109.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 32 ff.

³ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 422.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xv. 385 ff., xvi. 302, 307, 312.

⁵ Plut. *de fluviis* 6.4, cp. G. Dottin *Manuel de l'Antiquité celtique* Paris 1906 p. 64.

⁶ S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 75 f., 223.

⁷ *Folk-lore* xvii. 58.

⁸ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* pp. 139, 304 f.

are said to have appeared on the surrounding trees in great numbers.¹ So too Cuchulain, *i.e.* Lug re-incarnate, was compared to a raven²; and his coming was announced by a couple of ravens.³ As king of the Otherworld Lug occupied the same position as Tethra.⁴ It is, therefore, noteworthy that the wife of Tethra was identified with the raven.⁵ She was perhaps originally one with the Morrighu or Great Queen, who announced herself to Cuchulain as the daughter of King Buan⁶ but suddenly transformed herself into a crow sitting on a branch.⁷ The Morrighu again can hardly be separated from Badb⁸ the ominous death-goddess, who bore a name meaning 'Crow'⁹ and appeared to warriors in the guise of a crow or a raven.¹⁰ Kings and queens, who played the part of such deities on earth, were similarly related to ravens or other birds. Bran, for instance, seems to have drawn his name from the crow or raven (Welsh *brân*).¹¹ And examples of kings transformed at death into crows or ravens will be cited later.¹² In the story of Cuchulain's birth, Dechtire, his mother, was with her maidens changed by Lug into birds, who appeared in couples linked together by chains of silver or

¹ Plut. *de fluviis* 6.4.

² D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 127.

³ Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 288, D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 203 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 147.

⁵ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 196.

⁶ *Supra* p. 152.

⁷ Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 211 f.

⁸ Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 52 f.

⁹ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 447 n. 1.

¹⁰ D'Arbois *Les druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 pp. 151, 167 (quoting Hennessy in the *Revue celtique* i. 34 ff.).

¹¹ Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 256.

¹² *Vide* my next article. The famous swineherds Friuch and Rucht, who served Bodb king of the *síd* of Munster and Ochall Oichni king of the *síd* of Connaught, took the shape of ravens for two years. They were not indeed kings; but their fortunes were intimately bound up with those of Irish royalty (A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 58 ff.).

red gold.¹ In the story of Etain Echraide, daughter of Ailill, who was re-born as Etain, daughter of Etar, Midir her original husband won her back from Eochaid Airem her second husband, and they escaped together in the form of two swans.² Ultimately Eochaid stormed the fairy palace of Midir and recovered Etain, who bore him a daughter likewise called Etain. This last Etain was married to Cormac, king of Ulster, and, like her mother, bore him but one daughter. The girl, exposed by Cormac, was found by a herdsman of Eterscel, king of Tara, and brought up in seclusion by him. Before Eterscel could wed her, she was visited by Nemglam, king of the birds, who flew in at the window and left his bird-skin on the floor. Thereafter a babe was born to her, Conaire the supposed son of Eterscel, on whom Nemglam laid the *gess* or taboo that no bird must ever be killed by him. Conaire's own reign at Tara was called by Nemglam a 'bird reign.' It was, in fact, the ideal reign of an Irish king. We read that 'there was great plenty in Ireland through his reign; seven ships coming at the one time to Inver Colptha, and corn and nuts up to the knees in every harvest, and the trees bending from the weight of fruit, and the Buais and the Boinne full of fish every summer, and that much law and peace and good-will among the people, that each one thought the other's voice as sweet as the strings of harps. And the wolves themselves were held by hostages not to kill more than one calf in every pen. There was no thunder³ or storm in his reign, and from spring

¹ Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 39 ff. Cp. the two birds linked together by a chain of red gold, which were attacked by Cuchulain but dived under water and afterwards in the form of two women (Fand and Liban) horse-whipped the hero (Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 276 ff. and the literature cited *supra* p. 148 n. 1).

² Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 47 ff.

³ For thunder connected with the Irish king cp. S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 287 'Birth of Cormac': 'At the boy's birth a report as of

to harvest there was not as much wind as would stir a cow's tail, and the cattle were without keepers because of the greatness of peace. And in his reign there were the three crowns in Ireland, the crown of flowers, the crown of acorns, and the crown of wheatears.¹

If the Irish king was thus related to the birds, we can understand why, when Laegaire Buadach, Conall Cearnach, and Cuchulain competed for the championship of Ulster, Laegaire wore 'a cover of strange birds' feathers over his head' and Conall a similar covering 'over the wicker frame of his chariot';² also why Laegaire was presented with a 'cup of bronze, having a bird in raised silver on the bottom,' Conall with 'a silver cup . . . having a bird on the bottom in raised gold,' Cuchulain with 'a gold cup . . . having on the bottom of it a bird in precious stones.'³ The golden birds glittering with carbuncles in Conchobar's chamber at Emain Macha,⁴ and the thatching of Manannan's palace with the wings of white birds,⁵ appear to have the same significance. Indeed, it may be conjectured that the magic birds so constantly connected with the

thunder boomed through the air, and Lughna upon hearing the sound uttered:—
"Noise—thunder—birth of king . . .".

¹ Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 82. ff. The version published by Max Nettlau in the *Revue celtique* xii. 241 ff. adds some details, e.g. that the two servants of Cormac, bidden to destroy the babe, left it out of pity in a hole beneath an oak-tree.

² Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 64 f. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* pp. 111, 113 translates: 'sur son char un pavillon de plumages d'oiseaux du pays,' 'un pavillon en plumage d'oiseaux du pays surmonte la caisse cuivrée de son char.'

³ Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 71 f., D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 121 ff. The cup given to Cuchulain was accepted as proof that the champion's portion belonged to him. Probably the gold cup found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae (G. Perrot and C. Chipiez *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* Paris 1894 vi. 960 ff. fig. 531) and Nestor's famous cup (*Iliad* II. 632 ff.), both of which had golden doves upon the handles, were similar regalia.

⁴ *Supra* p. 160.

⁵ *Supra* p. 152.

divine tree of the solar king (*Bran, Cuchulain, Tadg*¹) are but the king's predecessors in their bird form. This conjecture sounds perhaps over-bold. But the solitary man, whom Mael-Duin found on a distant island, said to him: 'The birds that you see in the trees are the souls of my family, both women and men.'²

One further inference from the tales of the Otherworld. The silver apple-branch (*Bran, Cormac*) and the magic cup (*Cormac, Tadg*) possessed by the king were somehow bound up with his life: if he lost them, he would die.³ Now Mael-Duin subsisted for 120 days on his apple-branch⁴ and Connla fed continually upon the Elysian apple;⁵ also Cormac and Conn drank of the Elysian cup.⁶ Hence we may suppose that the branch and the cup were believed to furnish divine meat and drink to the king, whose life would naturally depend on their preservation. It is probable that some palaces, if not all, had an outward token of this celestial diet in a tree with fruit or berries, which grew either actually inside the building or in close proximity to it.

*The Story of Conn-eda*⁷ tells how Conn-eda, son of King Conn and eponym of Connaught, was so beloved and respected by the people of the West that the common oath of the country was by his head. Through the machinations of his step-mother he was sent on a dangerous journey to the Firbolg king of Lough Erne, and bidden to bring back the three golden apples⁸ of health that grew on a crystal tree in the midst of the king's pleasure-garden. Conn-eda succeeded in his quest

¹ See also my next article.

² D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 478.

³ *Supra* pp. 153, 155.

⁴ *Supra* p. 156.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 147, 154.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 152, 158.

⁷ *Folk-lore Record* ii. 180 ff.

⁸ Cp. the three golden apples of the Hesperides brought by the sons of Tuirenn as part of a fine due to Lug (Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 33 ff.).

and, on returning home, planted the three apples in his own garden. Instantly a great tree bearing similar apples sprang up, and caused all the district to produce an exuberance of crops and fruit.

In *The Colloquy with the Ancients*¹ Caeilté tells St. Patrick that Lughaid Menn, son of Angus and king of Ireland, had three sons, Ruidhe, Fiacha, and Eochaid. They applied to their father for a country or domain; and, when he refused their request, they went to Brugh na Boinn, where Bodhb Derg, son of the Daghdha, showed them hospitality. At an assembly of the Tuatha Dé Danann it was decided to give them to wife the three daughters of Midir. Among other presents, they received from Aedh son of Aedh na Nabusach a vat that would turn fresh water into mead and a horn that would turn salt water into wine. Moreover, Angus gave them a spacious fort, and bade them carry away out of the Oak-wood three apple-trees, one in full bloom, another shedding its blossom, and a third covered with ripe fruit. They lived in their fort for three times fifty years and then, by virtue of their marriage alliance, returned to the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is here clearly implied that the sons of the Irish king had in their fort apple-trees, which were supposed to bear the fruit that fed the gods.

Again, Caeilté recites to St. Patrick the verses in which Cael O'Neamhain, one of Finn's warriors, described the mansion of Credé.² This Credé was the daughter of Cairbré, king of Kerry, and had promised to marry the man who should give an adequate description of her palace and its contents. Those of Cael's verses that concern us are the following:

¹ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 109 ff., *Lady Gregory Gods and Fighting Men* p. 74 ff.

² O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 308 ff., 594 ff., gives text and translation. There is another English rendering by S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 119 ff., and yet another by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 207 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 194.

‘Wounded men would sink in sleep,
Though ever so heavily teeming with blood,
With the warblings of the fairy birds
From the eaves of her sunny chamber [*Griandán*].

Its portico is thatched
With wings of birds both blue and yellow;
Its lawn in front, and its well,
Of crystal and of carmogal.

There is in it a vat of royal bronze,
Whence flows the pleasant juice of malt;
An apple-tree stands overhead the vat
With the abundance of its weighty fruit.

When Credé’s goblet is filled
With the ale of the noble vat,
There drop down into the cup directly
Four apples at the same time.

The four attendants [distributors] that have been named
Arise and go to the distribution;
They present to four of the guests around,
A drink to each man, and an apple.’

A tree thus growing within a castle was deemed sacred to the sky-god; for any ancient tree growing in a fort was called *bile*,¹ a name identical with that of *Bile* who was one form of the Celtic sky-god.² The king, as human representative of that god, was intimately associated with the tree. Under it he was inaugurated. ‘One of the greatest triumphs,’ says Dr. Joyce,³ ‘that a tribe could achieve over their enemies, was to cut down their inauguration tree, and no outrage was more keenly resented, or when possible, visited with sharper retribution. Our Annals often record their destruction as events of importance; at 981 for example, we read in the Four Masters, that the *bile* of *Magh-adhar* [Mah-ire] in Clare

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 60, 69.

² *Ib.* xvii. 59 ff.

³ P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 481 f.

—the great tree under which the O'Briens were inaugurated—was rooted out of the earth and cut up, by Malachy, king of Ireland; and at 1111, that the Ulidians led an army to Tullaghoge, the inauguration place of the O'Neills, and cut down the old trees; for which Niall O'Lough-lin afterwards exacted a retribution of 3000 cows.' Dr. Joyce goes on to prove by the help of place-names, etc. (*e.g.* *Lisnabilla* in Antrim and *Rathvilly* in Carlow, both meaning 'the fort of the ancient tree') that such sacred trees were of fairly frequent occurrence. That the life of the king was believed to be bound up with that of his *bile* may be gathered, not only from cases already quoted of vital sympathy between the king and the tree,¹ but also from an explicit statement to that effect in the tale of *Blaiman, son of Apple*,² of which more anon.³

The belief that the king's life depends on the preservation of a particular tree growing in or near a castle, or of a particular goblet in the king's possession, has lingered on into modern times. Mr. Minto F. Johnston, in an article on 'Some Famous Family "Lucks"' contributed to *The Wide World Magazine* for June 1905,⁴ writes as follows: 'In two notable cases the family mascot is a tree. The foundations of Cawdor Castle, near Nairn, are built round a hawthorn tree,⁵ and there is an ancient

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 68.

² J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* London 1894 p. 373 ff.

³ *Vide* my next article.

⁴ *Wide World* xv. 244 ff. with photographs of the Cawdor hawthorn, the Howth elm, etc.

⁵ A writer in the *Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette* for Feb. 13, 1906, says: 'The story is that Thane William, when he decided to build himself a stronghold, was told in a dream to put his treasure on the back of an ass, start it going, and wherever it should halt there to build his castle. The donkey lay down to rest under the thorn tree, and round that tree the building was erected.'

At Huntingfield in Suffolk 'the great hall was built round six straight

tradition to the effect that the disappearance of this tree will be a sign that dire misfortunes will shortly overwhelm the family. "Freshness to the hawthorn tree of Cawdor" is consequently the happiest form of felicitation to the Campbells of Cawdor. The tree must be about five hundred years old, according to the most moderate computation, . . . but it still has its roots in the soil and its stem rises through the floor of one of the dungeons. . . . The famous elm in the courtyard of Howth Castle, near Dublin, is the other instance. The saying is that when it falls the ancient line of Howth shall come to an end. It is very old now, and so decayed that iron supports hold it together against the wear and tear of the weather. Strangely enough, the present Lord Howth is the last of his race.' The other 'Lucks' adduced by Mr. Johnston are mostly cups, *viz.* the Luck of Muncaster, a glass bowl given to Sir John Pennington by Henry VI. in 1461; the Luck of Workington, an agate cup given to Sir Henry Curwen by Mary Queen of Scots in 1568; the Luck of Edenhall, a glass cup preserved as an heirloom in the Musgrave family; the Luck of Burrell Green, a brass dish originally owned by the Lambs of Cumberland. Tradition has it that the last two Lucks were taken from, or given by, fairies. In all cases the welfare of the family is thought to depend on the safety of the cup.

massy oaks, which originally supported the roof as they grew: upon these the foresters and yeomen of the guard used to hang their nets, cross-bows, hunting-poles, great saddles, calivers, bills, &c.' (J. G. Strutt *Sylva Britannica* London 1822 p. 26). Cp. the Old Manor House at Knaresborough on the Nidd in Yorkshire: 'It is believed that this is the only house in England in which stands an original roof-tree. In this case an old oak of the forest, with its roots still intact, rises through the kitchen up to a bed-room, where it is cut short, and used as a small table' (*The Standard* Nov. 13, 1905).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued*).



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The European Sky-God. VI. The Celts (Continued)

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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

VI. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

HITHERTO we have confined our attention almost exclusively to Ireland and the Isle of Man. It may next be shown that partial parallels to the foregoing Irish and Manx beliefs can be traced elsewhere among the Insular Celts.

Corresponding to the Gaelic *Bile* is the British *Beli*,¹ whose son Avallach² was called after the apple or the apple-tree.³ This Avallach appears to have given his name to Avallon or the Isle of Avallon,⁴ which was the British counterpart of the Gaelic Emhain of the Appletrees. Avallon was early identified with Glastonbury, whose hill (Glastonbury Tor) surrounded by swamps came to be looked upon as an Elysium or Otherworld.⁵ If Avallach, son of the dark sky-god and king of the Otherworld, was thus connected with apples, it can hardly be

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 55, 59, 68, 70.

² Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 336 cites from cod. Harl. 3859 fol. 193^b a pedigree ending 'son of Eugene, son of Aballac, son of Amalech, who was the son of Beli the Great, and his mother was Anna, who is said to have been cousin to the Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and justly observes that *Aballac* and *Amalech* are only two forms of the same name, adding that *ib.* fol. 194a *Aballac* is made son of Beli and Anna without any allusion to *Amalech*.

³ Welsh *afal*, 'apple,' or *afall*, 'apple-tree,' which would be in Old Welsh spelling *abal* and *aball* respectively. Old Irish *aball*, 'apple.' See further A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. *ab-áll-os.

⁴ Rhys *Arthurian Legend*, p. 337.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 328 ff.

doubted that he had one apple-tree of peculiar sanctity resembling that of the Irish tales. Nor is this a matter of mere conjecture. William of Malmesbury in his account of the founding of Glastonbury¹ relates how a certain Glasteing passed through the midlands following his sow till he found it suckling its young under an apple-tree close to Glastonbury church. Hence, he says, the apples of that tree are called *Ealdcyrcenes epple*, that is 'apples of the Old Church,' while the sow, which had eight legs, was known as *ealdcyre* [sic] *suge*, 'The sow of the Old Church.' Glasteing settled there and his descendants peopled the place.

Whether the British king had a branch of the Elysian apple-tree comparable with the branches borne by Bran, Cormac, and Conchobar, we cannot say. But in the Welsh tale of *Branwen the daughter of Llyr*, Bendigeid Vran, son of Llyr and king of Britain, sought to compensate Matholwch, king of Ireland, for an insult done to him by offering him 'a staff of silver, as large and as tall as himself, and a plate of gold of the breadth of his face.'² Lady Charlotte Guest *ad loc.*³ compares the Laws of Hywel Dda, where the fine for insult to a king is fixed at a 'hundred cows on account of every cantrev in the kingdom, and a silver rod with three knobs at the top, that shall reach from the ground to the king's face, when he sits in his chair, and as thick as his ring-finger; and a golden bason, which shall hold fully as much as the king drinks, of the thickness of a husbandman's nail, who shall have followed husbandry for seven years, and

¹ William of Malmesbury *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, cited by Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 332 n. 1 from Gale *Historia Britanniae* etc. Oxford 1691 p. 295, states that he took this narrative 'de antiquis Britonum libris.'

² *The Mabinogion* trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, publ. J. M. Dent, London, p. 36.

³ *Ib.* p. 303.

a golden cover, as broad as the king's face, equally thick as the bason.' In another MS. cited by Lady Charlotte Guest the payment is said to be of gold throughout: 'a golden rod as long as himself, of the thickness of his little finger, and a golden tablet, as broad as his face, and as thick as a husbandman's nail.' This silver rod with three knobs, or golden rod as the case may be, reminds us forcibly of Conchobar's silver wand with three golden apples on it¹ and of Cormac's silver branch with nine (or three) golden apples.² We shall not be far wrong, if we suppose that the silver rod and the golden bason are analogous to the silver branch and the golden cup of the Irish king.³

At Glastonbury, as elsewhere,⁴ the apple-tree may have been a substitute for an oak. For Professor Rhys points out that Malmesbury's *Glasteing*, i.e. *Glastenig* or *Glastenic*, 'is clearly derived from the *glasten*, which in Breton meant "oak": cf. Cornish *glastanen*, "an oak."' ⁵ On this showing, *Glasteing*, the eponymous founder of Glastonbury, who built his town round the apple-tree, was himself called 'He of the Oaks.' Professor Rhys further makes it probable that another name of Glastonbury, used from motives of piety, was *Lojt cojt*, the 'Grey Trees.'⁶ If

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 160.

² *Ib.* xvii. 152.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 159 ff., 169 ff.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 57, 61, 153, 159, 170.

⁵ Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 333 n. 2. The Celtic *glasto-*, the root of *glasten* and *glastanen*, was a colour-word denoting 'green,' 'blue,' 'grey' (Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. *glasto-*). Hence also *glastum*, 'woad.' Since *vitrum*, the Latin for 'woad,' also meant 'glass,' and since *Glastenic* would readily suggest 'glass,' the belief arose that Glastonbury was somehow connected with glass. Malmesbury states that another ancient name for the place was *Ynesuuitrin*, 'Insula Vitrea.' See O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* Strassburg 1901 s.v. 'Waid,' and Rhys *Arthurian Legend* pp. 330, 333.

⁶ *Id. ib.* quoting from Cod. Harl. 3859 fol. 194b the gloss *unu' st.' glastenig. qui uener' [q; uocat] lojt/cojt*, which he emends into 'unde sunt glastenig qui uenerabiliterque uocantur lojt cojt.'

so, the oaks after which the place was called must have been objects of veneration.¹

Glasteing, 'He of the Oaks,' following a monstrous sow till it lay down beneath a sacred tree, recalls not only the sow with thirty teats found at last by Aeneas beneath the oaks of the Alban Mount,² but also the Welsh tale of *Math, the Son of Mathonwy*.³ Math and Gwydion together made a wife for Llew Llaw Gyffes ('the Lion of the Sure Hand'), who was the son of Arianrod ('Silver-wheel') and prince of Dinodig. They called her Blodeuwedd ('Flower-face'), for she was a lovely creature formed of the blossoms of the oak, of the broom, and of the meadow-sweet. But she was fickle and, through love of

¹ Glastonbury has been distinguished for a sacred tree of one sort or another from its earliest foundation to the present time.

The Glastonbury walnut never put forth its leaves before St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, but on that festival was covered with them (Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 59). According to others, it never budded before the feast of St. Barnabas, June 11 (R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 63, from Collinson's *History of Somerset*). Or again, it put forth young leaves at Christmas (J. Aubrey *The Natural History of Wiltshire* ed. J. Britton, London 1847, p. 57). The credulous, including Queen Anne, King James, etc., gave large sums of money for small cuttings from it (Folkard *loc. cit.*).

The Glastonbury cornel or hawthorn budded on Christmas day (Camden *loc. cit.*). It was even more sought after (R. Warner *An History of the Abbey of Glaston Bath* 1826 p.c. ff., Hilderic Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 193 f., Folkard *op. cit.* pp. 62 f., Mrs. J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 166 ff.).

With these trees should be compared the Cadenham oak in the New Forest, which budded always on Christmas day and was regarded by the country folk with peculiar veneration (Folkard *op. cit.* pp. 63, 470, J. Nisbet and the Hon. G. W. Lascelles in the *Victoria History of Hampshire* ii. 465). The same is said of the King's oak in the New Forest (Aubrey *op. cit.* p. 57); of an old pollard oak within the trenches of Malwood castle, from which a basket of young leaves used to be sent every Christmas to King Charles i; and of two other pollard oaks growing not far from the King's oak (*id. ib.* p. 53 f.). Cp. also Philpot *Sacred Tree* p. 167 on two apple-trees blossoming at Christmas.

² *Folk-lore* xvi. 281 n. 2.

³ Lady Charlotte Guest *Mabinogion* ed. 1904 p. 58 ff.

Gronw Pebyr ('the Strong'), got from Llew Llaw Gyffes his life-secret. He could be killed only by a spear that had been a year in the making; and nothing must have been done to it except during the sacrifice on Sundays. He could not be killed within a house or without, on horseback or on foot, but only when he stood with one foot on the edge of a thatched cauldron beside a river and with the other foot on the back of a buck. Blodeuwedd revealed the secret to Gronw, who slew him thus. Llew Llaw Gyffes in the form of an eagle flew up and disappeared. His uncle Gwydion made search for him by following a sow, which set off with great speed and made for the brook now called Nant y Llew. Here she halted under an oak-tree and began to eat putrid flesh that dropped from the boughs. Looking up, Gwydion saw perched there an eagle, from whom fragments of flesh kept dropping. He charmed the eagle with song to descend to his knee, and, striking him with his magic wand, restored him once more to the form of Llew Llaw Gyffes. Gwydion next pursued after Blodeuwedd and changed her into an owl; while Llew killed Gronw, even as Gronw had killed him, and so recovered his principedom.

In this important myth we notice, to begin with, that the hero's name, as Professor Rhys¹ has shown, was originally not *Llew*, but *Lleu*, the Welsh equivalent of *Lug*, the Irish sun-god.¹ Again, Llew or Lleu reigns as a king over the cantrev of Dinodig, having his palace at Mur-y-Castell.² Further, after death he comes to life again, and for the second time takes possession of his kingdom under the same name.³ These indications point to the conclusion that the British, like the Gaelic,⁴ king personated the sun-god, who was believed to be re-incarnate in the royal line.

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 237 n. 1, pp. 398-409, *Arthurian Legend* p. 97, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 542 f.

² Lady Charlotte Guest *Mabinogion* ed. 1904 p. 72.

³ *Ib.* p. 80.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 159.

Once more, Llew passes at death into the form of an eagle haunting an oak. With this transformation of the king into a bird we are already familiar from Greek, Italian, and Irish sources.¹ Sundry other examples of it occur in Welsh, Breton, and Cornish legends, *i.e.* in all the subdivisions of the British Celts. In Cornwall it is believed that King Arthur is still living in the form of a raven, having been changed into that bird by magic, but that some day he will become a king once more.² Here too, as in the case of Llew, metamorphosis into a bird precedes re-incarnation as a man. Later Welsh literature gives us a dialogue between Arthur and his nephew Eliwlod, son of Madog, in which Eliwlod—again like Llew—appears as an eagle seated among the branches of an oak.³ Similarly a Breton ballad,⁴ at least as old as the end of the fourteenth century, tells how Bran, grandson of a yet greater Bran, in the form of a crow (for *Bran* means 'crow' in the Breton language, as it does also in Welsh⁵) haunts an oak on the battlefield of Kerloän, where a famous fight was fought in the tenth century between the Norsemen and the Bretons under Ewen the Great. Part of this ballad is translated by Mr. Tom Taylor:

' On the battlefield of Kerloän
There grows a tree looks o'er the lan' ;
There grows an oak in the place of stour,
Where the Saxons fled from Ewen-Vor.
Upon this oak, when the moon shines bright,
The birds they gather from the night.

¹ *Id.* xv. 385 ff., xvi. 312, xvii. 165.

² *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, viii. 618, cited by Mr. Gomme in *The Archaeological Review* 1889 iii. 226. See also R. Bosworth Smith *Bird Life and Bird Lore* London 1905 p. 147 f.

³ *Rhys Arthurian Legend* p. 56 n. 2, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 610.

⁴ T. Taylor *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* London 1865 p. 51 ff., M. Maclean *The Literature of the Celts* London 1902 p. 248.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 166.

Sea-mews, pied-black and white are there,
 On every forehead a bloodspeck clear.
 With them a corbie, ash-grey for eld,
 And a young crow aye at her side beheld.
 Wayworn seem the twain, with wings that dreep,
 As birds that flight o'er sea must keep.
 So sweetly sing these birds, and clear,
 The great sea stills its waves to hear,
 And aye their songs one burden hold,
 All save the young crow's and the corbie's old.
 And this is ever the crow's sore cry,
 "Sing, little birds, sing merrily."
 "Sing, birds o' the land, in merry strain,
 You died not far from your own Bretayne."

Another anonymous Breton ballad¹ translated by Mr. Taylor dates from the sixth century. It tells the tale of *The Lord Nann and the Fairy*. Lord Nann gripped his oaken spear and sallied out into the wild-woods to get venison for his bride. While pursuing a snow-white hind he intruded upon the grotto of a Corrigaun, who challenged him to wed her on pain of pining away for seven years or dying within three days. True to his young wife he refused temptation, and the Corrigaun laid a spell upon him. He at once fell sick and died. His wife came suddenly upon his grave:

' She threw herself on her knees amain,
 And from her knees ne'er rose again.
 That night they laid her, dead and cold,
 Beside her lord, beneath the mould;
 When, lo!—a marvel to behold!—
 Next morn from the grave two oak-trees fair,
 Shot lusty boughs high up in air;
 And in their boughs—oh, wondrous sight!—
 Two happy doves, all snowy white—
 That sang, as ever the morn did rise,
 And then flew up—into the skies!'

¹ T. Taylor *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* p. 7 ff., Maclean *Literature of the Celts* p. 240 ff.

The regalia of Greek and Italian kings marked them out as vice-gerents of the sky-god or sun-god. On the one hand, they had a golden crown of oak-leaves;¹ on the other, an eagle-tipped sceptre, which represented an original tree or branch.² The British imperial crown is now closed in by two arches of golden oak-leaves and acorns, richly studded with diamonds and pearls,³ while the so-called 'rod of equity' is a sceptre surmounted by a dove.⁴ It is, moreover, possible that the royal 'orb,' like the apple of the Irish prince,⁵ stands for the sun itself. The Scottish crown likewise has golden arches enriched with enamelled oak-leaves: these leaves were in all probability added about the year 1536 by James V.,⁶ the Stuart badge being the oak.⁷ The Scottish sword of state, presented to James IV. in 1507 by Pope Julius II., has the arms of the latter enamelled on its scabbard, viz. 'on a cartouch azure, an oak tree eradicated and fructuated or': the handle and guard of this sword are decorated with silver-gilt oak-leaves and acorns, while the scabbard is adorned throughout with a similar design.⁸ Lastly, the head of the Scottish sceptre is formed by a globe of rock crystal,⁹ which again may have symbolised the sun.

We have seen reason to suppose that the life of the Irish king was bound up with the *bile* or sacred tree that grew in or near his fort.¹⁰ For instance, in *The Lay of*

¹ *Folk-lore* xvi. 302, 307, 312.

² *Ib.* xv. 370 ff., xvi. 302, 307, 312.

³ R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London 1864 i. 614 f. with woodcut.

⁴ *The Encyclopædia Britannica* ed. 9 xx. 340 s.v. 'Regalia.'

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 147, 154, 159, 169.

⁶ A. J. S. Brook 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* New Series xii. 83.

⁷ *Infra* p. 15 f.

⁸ A. J. S. Brook *loc. cit.* p. 105 ff.

⁹ *Id. ib.* p. 98 f.

¹⁰ *Folk-lore* xvii. 169 ff.

the Wife of Meargach,¹ Ailne is thus forewarned of the death of her husband and two sons:

'I knew, by the eagle's visit
Each evening over the Dun,
That ere long I would hear
Evil tidings from my Three!

I knew, when the huge tree (*bile*) withered,
Both branch and leaves before the Dun,
That victorious you would never return
From the wiles of Fionn Mac Cumhaill!

Similarly, in the tale of *Arthur and Gorlagon*,² the Welsh king has in his garden a young tree (*virga*), which sprang up when he was born, has grown with his growth, and exactly matches him in height. He keeps it most jealously guarded, because a blow from the slender end of it will turn him into a werwolf. In Scotland too the life of the king or local magnate was bound up with that of a tree, especially an oak-tree. This sympathetic relationship comes out in a folk-tale from Argyll.³ There was once a big man called the Strong Man of the Wood. One day he cut a large oak, which fell on him and gave him his death-hurt. But, before he died, he bade his wife plant an acorn of the tree in the midden-stead by his door. When the acorn appeared above ground, a son should be born of her.⁴ She was to nourish him with the sap of her

¹ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 173.

² A. C. L. Brown in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 153, 171.

³ J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire* London 1891 p. 187 ff. Somewhat similar is the Irish tale of the giant cow-herd, who pulls up an oak-tree by the roots, does the bidding of Finn in a series of desperate adventures suggested by Finn's men, who are afraid of him, and at last proves to be no cow-herd but the son of the king of Alba (J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland* London 1890 p. 292 ff.). For other parallels see Grimm's *Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 16 ff., 383 ff.

⁴ Cp. the oak of Mughna, which was 'hidden' till the birth of King Conn (*Folk-lore* xvii. 60, 68).

breast and side until he could uproot the tree thus planted. In due time the woman had a son, and sure enough the seedling of the acorn was just breaking from the ground. She nourished her son seven years, and then took him out to try the tree; but he could not move it. She gave him another seven years of the breast, and then told him to try the tree again; but, though he shook it terribly, he still could not lift it. Again she gave him suck for seven years; and this time he uprooted it, and left it as a heap of firewood before her door. Hereupon his mother sent him out into the world with a bannock and her blessing. Others, scared at his strength, were anxious to be rid of him, and set him one impossible task after another with that end in view. But he easily performed them all, and in the end carried off his mother to live with him in a fine place from which all the previous inhabitants had fled in dismay.

Perhaps the most remarkable case of vital sympathy between man and tree is that of the Hays, formerly earls of Errol on the Firth of Tay.¹ The family legend is thus given by the Rev. Adam Philip in his *Songs and Sayings of Gowrie*.² During the Danish invasion of Scotland in 980 A.D. the Scots were all but worsted at Luncarty, when a countryman and his two sons rallied them and armed with mere plough-coulters defeated the Danes. After the battle the old peasant, named Hay, was taken to King Kenneth, who gave him at a parliament held at Scone as much land on the Tay in the district of Gowrie

¹ Dr. Frazer drew attention to this case in his *Golden Bough* ed. 1, ii. 362, ed. 2 iii. 448 f.; but unfortunately the newspaper-cutting, on which he relied, did not give the full facts.

² A. Philip *Songs and Sayings of Gowrie* Edinburgh and London 1901 p. 67 ff. The author duly notes that Milton proposed to found a drama on this legend, and that Shakspeare (after Holinshed *History of Scotland* p. 155) has utilised it in *Cymbeline* 5. 3. 1 ff. Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough iii. 394 arms Hay with a yoke, not a plough-coulter.

as a hawk let off at Kinnoull should fly over before it settled. The hawk alighted at the Hawk's Stane in St. Madoes' Parish, all the intervening land becoming the property of the Hays. John Hay Allan, a member of the family, in his 'Lines Written upon coming in sight of the Coast of Scotland'¹ exclaims:

'And sooth there was a time, howe'er 'tis now,
O'er thy wide realm they held the regal sway.
The blood which yet beneath this breast doth flow,
Was from thy Stuarts drawn in olden day:²
But with their race all! all! is fallen away—
Yet mourn I how my name withstood their foes?
Cursed had it been to fail them in the fray,
Aye in their weal it shared as in their woes,
And aye the misle spray shall blend it with the rose.'³

Commenting on the last line, the poet himself writes as follows:⁴ 'Among the Low Country families the badges are now almost generally forgotten; but it appears by an ancient MS. and the tradition of a few old people in Perthshire, that the badge of the Hays was the mistletoe. There was formerly in the neighbourhood of Errol, and not far from the Falcon stone, a vast oak of an unknown age, and upon which grew a profusion of the plant: many charms and legends were considered to be connected with the tree, and the duration of the family of Hay was said to be united with its existence. It was believed that a sprig of the mistletoe cut by a Hay

¹J. H. Allan *The Bridal of Caölchairn; and other Poems* London 1822 p. 97.

²This refers to the supposed connexion between J. H. Allan and Prince Charlie, on which see the Rev. A. Philip *op. cit.* p. 142 ff. and Mr. F. Hinds Groome's article on 'John Sobieski Stolberg Stuart' in the *National Dictionary of Biography*.

³J. H. Allan *Bridal of Caölchairn* p. 232 in 'The Gathering of the Hays' writes:

'Dark as the mountain's heather wave,
The rose and the misle are coming brave.'

⁴*Id. ib.* p. 337 f.

on Allhallowmas Eve, with a new dirk, and after surrounding the tree three times sun-ways, and pronouncing a certain spell, was a sure charm against all glamour or witchery, and an infallible guard in the day of battle. A spray gathered in the same manner was placed in the cradle of infants, and thought to defend them from being changed for elf-bairns by the fairies. Finally, it was affirmed, that when the root of the oak had perished, "the grass should grow in the hearth of Errol, and a raven should sit in the falcon's nest." The two most unlucky deeds which could be done by one of the name of Hay was, to kill a white falcon, and to cut down a limb from the oak of Errol. When the old tree was destroyed I could never learn. The estate has been some time sold out of the family of Hay,¹ and of course it is said that the fatal oak was cut down a short time before. A white rose is the badge of the Clan Stuibhard.'

Thomas the Rhymer is credited with the following: ²

'While the mistletoe bats on Errol's aik,
And the aik stands fast,
The Hays shall flourish, and their good grey hawk
Shall nocht flinch before the blast.

But when the root of the aik decays,
And the mistletoe dwines on its withered breast,
The grass shall grow on Errol's hearth-stane,
And the corbie roup in the falcon's nest.'

So then the fortune of the Hays was bound up with an immemorial oak. And the white falcon that haunted the spot was very possibly regarded as an ancestral spirit

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 334 f. explains that the name De la Haye is a translation of the old Gaelic name Mac Garadh. Garadh, *i.e.* 'Dike' or 'Barrier,' was the appellation bestowed on the ancestor of the Hays for his conduct at the battle of Luncarty. Hence his descendants were known as the *Clann na Garadh*, and their chief for the time being as *Mac Mhic Garadh Mòr ann Sgithan Dearg* or 'the son of the son of Garadh of the red shields.'

² Rev. J. B. Pratt *Buchan* ed. 4 Aberdeen 1901 p. 57 n. *Id. ib.* p. 50 ff. gives many interesting details concerning the Hays, the *Saxum Falconis*, the Luncarty Stone, etc.

in bird-form.¹ The Falcon's stone near the old oak recalls the Pillar of the Living Tree near the oak of Mugna.² Both Greeks and Italians, as we have already seen, connected oak-mistletoe with the sun:³ it is *à priori* probable that the Insular Celts did the same. In Ireland, however, the mistletoe is not a native plant and was only introduced in the eighteenth century.⁴ Hence in the ritual of Allhallowmas Eve the Irish sun-charm was performed with apples, not mistletoe.⁵ Now it was precisely on Allhallowmas Eve that mistletoe was cut from the oak at Errol by a Hay, who surrounded the tree three times sun-ways. We can hardly deny that the cutting of such a plant on such an occasion in such a way had a definitely solar significance. I conjecture that the Hay with the sprig of mistletoe in his hand was the Scotch equivalent of Bran or Cormac or Conchobar with his silver apple-branch. In other words, that he represented the sun-god and as such bore the sun-god's fruit. The mistletoe sprig was 'an infallible guard in the day of battle.' Why? Simply because it filled its bearer with the sun-god's strength. Placed in a cradle, it proved a powerful prophylactic. What agencies of darkness dared touch the *protégé* of the sun?

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 231 in 'The Gathering of the Hays':

'The standard of Errol unfolds its white breast,
And the falcon of Loncartie stirs in her nest.'

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 61, with n. 4. Beside an ancient oak near Kingston Lisle in White Horse Vale stands a remarkable stone known as the Blowing Stone. It is a brown Sarsen block, three feet high, honeycombed by sinuous cavities. By blowing bugle-wise down one of these a deep-toned note is produced, which is audible at Faringdon Clump six miles away. The original site of the stone was on the crest of the downs, above White Horse Hill; and it is said that King Alfred used it for the purpose of summoning his troops. (*The Daily Graphic* April 2 1906 p. 13 and *The Wide World Magazine* May 1906 xvii. 206 f., both with illustration.)

³ *Folk-lore* xv. 424 ff., xvi. 284 f.

⁴ P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 236.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 58.

This is not the place to dwell on the obvious parallelism between the cutting of the mistletoe by the druids and its cutting by the Hays. Of that I shall have occasion to speak later. For the moment it must suffice to have found the solar chief, whose fortunes were bound up with the ancestral oak-tree, defying his foes through the virtue of the mistletoe that he holds in his hand. Even in death he would not be buried without it, if we may judge from a find made at Gristhorpe near Scarborough in 1834 A.D. A tumulus was opened, and in it was discovered the trunk of an oak-tree containing a very perfect skeleton of a supposed Brigantian chief with his spear-heads, etc. Mr. Williamson, one of the excavators, writes of it: 'A quantity of a vegetable substance, which was first believed to be dried rushes, was also found in the coffin; some of it has since been macerated, and though the greater portion of it is so much decomposed that nothing but the fibre remains, in one or two instances we have been so far successful as to clearly distinguish a long lanceolate leaf, resembling that of the mistletoe, which plant it has probably been: a few dried berries were amongst the vegetable mass; they were very tender and most of them soon crumbled to dust;—they are about the size of those of the mistletoe.'¹

The Hays, as we have seen, claimed kinship with the Stuarts, of whom the Rev. Hilderic Friend² says: 'The

¹J. Allies *Antiquities and Folk-lore of Worcestershire* ed. 2 London 1852 p. 164. The oak-log with its contents was then preserved in the Scarborough Museum. There may have been similar oak-kings at Glastonbury. For, according to Giraldus Cambrensis *Speculum Ecclesiae* 2.9 f. cited by Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 59, Henry II. made search for King Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury and discovered 'a coffin made out of the trunk of an oak hollowed, in which were lodged the bones of this famous champion.' It should also be observed that mistletoe is particularly frequent in all the orchards about Glastonbury (R. J. King *Sketches and Studies* London 1874 p. 48).

²Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* p. 12, after King, *Sketches and Studies*, p. 53.

Oak formed the badge of the Stuarts. As, however, it was not evergreen, the Highlanders regarded this as ominous of the fate of the royal house.' Among the many Scottish armorial bearings in which an oak-tree figures Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon gives those of Reginald Macdonald Steuart (1813) as 'Arg. an oak tree vert surmounted of a double-headed eagle displayed or.'¹ Again, in the grounds of Dalhousie Castle, some two miles from Dalkeith, is the famous Edgewell Oak, so called because it stands on the edge of a fine spring. Local tradition has it that a branch falls from the tree whenever a member of the [Ramsay] family dies.² The original oak fell early in the eighteenth century; but a new one sprang from the old root, and the tree was still flourishing in 1889.³

In England too special sanctity attaches to the mistletoe-bearing oak. At Croydon there used to be a great forest of oak-trees called Norwood, in which at a point where four parishes met stood an ancient tree known as the Vicar's Oak. One of the oaks in this forest bore mistletoe, 'which some persons were so hardy as to cut for the gain of selling it to the apothecaries'⁴

¹ Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* Edinburgh 1903 p. 371 No. 5466. See *ib. s. vv.* 'Oak,' 'Oak-slips,' 'Tree.'

² If a branch was blown down off certain old ash-trees at Manor Farm, Hill Deverill, in South-west Wilts, this was held to portend the death of one of the family living there (*Folk-lore* xii. 72). Cp. J. Aubrey *Remains of Gentilisme* ed. J. Britten London 1881 p. 180.

³ J. M. Mackinlay *Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* Glasgow 1893 p. 238.

⁴ Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* ii. 378 f. 'Bacon says the Mistletoe upon oaks is counted very medicinal,' etc., J. Brand *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* ed. Ellis London 1849 i. 525 'The mistletoe of the oak, which is very rare, is vulgarly said to be a cure for wind-ruptures in children,' Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 442 'The powder of an oak-mistletoe was deemed an infallible cure for epilepsy,' etc., V. S. Lean *Collectanea* Bristol 1903 iii. 505 'The mistletoe of the oak, a capital thing for a sick cow.—Lees.' See further J. Aubrey *Remains of Gentilisme* p. 89.

of London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out. But they proved unfortunate after it, for one of them fell lame and others lost an eye. At length, in the year 1678, a certain man, notwithstanding he was warned against it, upon the account of what the other had suffered, adventured to cut the tree down, and he soon after brake his leg.¹ But further the oak, if not the mistletoe,² stood in a relation of mysterious sympathy to royal or noble personages. In Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, it is said that the old oaks lost their tops when Lady Jane Grey, who resided at Bradgate Hall in that neighbourhood, was beheaded.³ Eastwell in Kent is the seat of the Finches, Earls of Winchelsea; and Aubrey tells how grave misfortunes overtook the family, when Lord Winchelsea felled a curious grove of oaks near his house and gave the first blow with his own hand.⁴

But it is in Cornwall, if anywhere in England, that we should look to find clear traces of Celtic superstition. Painter's Oak in the hundred of East, Cornwall, and an oak in the parish of Probus, near Truro, are both said to have had leaves speckled with white; and in the case of the Probus oak it was added that, if the leaves appeared all of one colour, it betokened the death of the owner.⁵ Since oak-mistletoe is not found in the

¹ Lean *Collectanea* ii. 1. 207, quoting Cox *Magna Britannia* v. 374. Cp. Aubrey, cited by Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 442 and by King *Sketches and Studies* p. 53.

² A tomb in Bristol Cathedral belonging to the great family of Berkeleys has its spandrels filled with sprays of mistletoe—apparently the sole example of mistletoe in British ecclesiastical sculpture (King *Sketches and Studies* p. 49). Is there a family tradition to explain it?

³ *County Folk-lore*, i. 3 Leicestershire and Rutland, p. 28.

⁴ Aubrey, cited by Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 237 f.

⁵ Carew *History of Cornwall*, cited by Mr. Gomme in *The Archaeological Review* 1889 iii. 231. See also Heath *Description of Cornwall* 1750, cited by Miss M. A. Courtney *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore* Penzance 1890 p. 104 f. : 'In Lanhadron Park there grows an oak that bears leaves speckled with

county,¹ it may be that these oaks with white-spotted leaves were the Cornish substitute for mistletoe-bearing oaks; and it is of interest to note that they were thus related to their owners. Still more significant is that relation, when the speckled oak is said to be in sympathy with a king. 'At Boconnoc, near Lostwithiel,' says Miss M. A. Courtney,² 'not long ago stood the stump of an old oak, in which, in 1644, when Charles I. made this seat his head-quarters, the royal standard was fixed. It bore variegated leaves. According to tradition, they changed colour when an attempt was made to assassinate the king while he was receiving the sacrament under its branches. The ball passed through the tree, and a hole in its trunk was formerly pointed out in confirmation of the story.'

We have now passed in review the scattered indications, which go to prove that among the Insular Celts, Gaelic and British alike, the king was originally believed to discharge the rôle of the sky-god or sun-god and that in this capacity he was thought to stand in a peculiar relation to the sky-god's tree (apple or oak), a portion of which (apple-branch or oak-mistletoe) he was entitled to bear.

In Christian times the divine king was succeeded by the saint.³ As the former mounted guard over his sacred tree, so the latter dwelt beneath its hallowed boughs. The records of Celtic saints, if searched for the purpose, would probably yield many details of pagan import. For example, Bres, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann and successor of Nuada,⁴ was married to the ancient Irish

white, as another, called Painter's Oak, grows in the hundred of East. Some are of opinion that divers ancient families of England are preadmonished by oaks bearing strange leaves.' Cp. J. Evelyn *Silva* York 1776 p. 75 ff.

¹ R. Polwhele *The History of Cornwall* Falmouth 1803 i.

² M. A. Courtney *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore* p. 104.

³ See e.g. *Folk-lore* xvii. 42 ff.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 45 f.

goddess Brigit, daughter of the Dagda.¹ St. Brigit or St. Bridget, her canonical name-sake, is said² to have loved and blessed a certain very high oak-tree, the trunk of which was still standing at the close of the tenth century and was regarded as so sacred that no one dared to cut it with a weapon. Under this oak St. Brigit built her cell, calling it Kildare, *i.e.* *Cill-dara*, 'the Church of the Oak.' A perpetual fire of extraordinary sanctity was maintained there in her honour down to the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII.³ St. Brigit's festival falls on February 1, the eve of Candlemas; and the Candlemas bonfires and illuminations, like the fire-ritual of Beltaine and Samain,⁴ are almost certainly sun-charms.⁵ Note also that in Ireland small crosses, resembling the Maltese, are made of wheaten or oaten straw on February 2 and stuck somewhere in the roof, especially in the angles and over the doors—witness the old couplet:

St. Bridget's cross, hung over door,
Which did the house from fire secure.⁶

Such crosses are often shaped like the *swastika*,⁷ and may fairly be interpreted as solar in character. St.

¹ D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 433 f., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 78.

² According to Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 109 f., Animosus, the writer of the fourth *Life of St. Brigid* published by Colgan states: 'That cell is called in Scotie, *Cill-dara*, which in Latin sounds *Cella-quercus*. For a very high oak stood there, which Brigid loved much, and blessed it; of which the trunk still remains; and no one dares cut it with a weapon.'

Mr. D. Fitzgerald in the *Revue celtique* iv. 193 cites the distich—

That Oak of Saint Bride, which nor Devil nor Dane,
Nor Saxon nor Dutchman could rend from her fane.—

and observes that 'a lizard appears at foot of the oak, the crest of the Vi Duinn, who claim Saint Brigit as their kinswoman.'

³ P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 335, J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* London 1905 p. 222 ff.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 30, 58, 64 f. ⁵ Frazer *Golden Bough* ed. 2 iii. 248, 300 ff.

⁶ Lean *Collectanea* ii. i. 417 f.

⁷ My informant is Prof. A. C. Haddon, who possesses a series of these crosses.

Brigit's life bears out the suggestion. Not only was she expressly compared with the sun,¹ but, as Mr. Squire² puts it, 'she was born at sunrise; a house in which she dwelt blazed into a flame which reached to heaven; a pillar of fire rose from her head when she took the veil.' In short, I submit that the pagan deity, whose name and fame St. Brigit has usurped, was a great sun-goddess. Bres, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, mated with her, just as Bran or Connla or Cuchulain or Oisín mated with the goddess who possessed the sun-tree; for every king of Tara must needs wed the sun-goddess.³ Truly, St. Brigit was well called St. Bride. If I am right in my surmise, the Irish Brigit was strictly comparable to the Italian Diana, and her oak to the famous tree at Nemi. Moreover, Brigit, like Diana,⁴ was *triformis*: at least, she had two sisters also named Brigit, the three being regarded as patrons of bards, physicians, and smiths respectively.⁵ This triune character reappears in Brigit's children. She was the mother of three gods, who patronized art and literature, *viz.* Brían, Iucharba or Iuchar, and Iuchair or Uar. But these three sons had a child in common called *Ecné*, that is 'Science' or 'Poetry.'⁶ Finally, as Diana, originally the partner of a 'Bright' sky-god,⁷ became a goddess of fertility, who made the cattle to increase and the crops to grow,⁸ so too did Brigit. In the Hebrides her marriage was celebrated on Candlemas eve, she herself being represented by a sheaf of oats in woman's clothing, which was put to bed in a large basket with a wooden club⁹—perhaps the last trace of Brigit's oak.

¹ Douglas Hyde *A Literary History of Ireland* London 1899 p. 191.

² Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 228.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 163.

⁴ *Ib.* xvi. 279.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 74 f.

⁶ D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 145.

⁷ *Folk-lore* xvi. 270 f., 289 n. 5.

⁸ Frazer *Golden Bough* ed. 2. i. 230.

⁹ *Id. ib.* i. 223.

Significant, too, are the relations between St. Columcille and the oak. He built a church in the oak-grove of Derry, 'and,' says Dr. Hyde,¹ 'so careful was he of his beloved oaks that, contrary to all custom, he would not build his church with its chancel towards the east, for in that case some of the oaks would have had to be felled to make room for it. He laid strict injunctions upon all his successors to spare the lovely grove, and enjoined that if any of the trees should be blown down some of them should go for fuel to their own guest-house, and the rest be given to the people.' Years afterwards he penned a poem, in which he says:

'The reason I love Derry is for its quietness, for its purity, crowded full of heaven's angels in every leaf of the oaks of Derry. My Derry, my little oak grove, my dwelling and my little cell, O Eternal God in heaven above, woe be to him who violates it.'²

Besides Derry, two other famous monasteries were founded in Ireland by St. Columcille. One was Durrow, which like Derry drew its name from the beautiful oak-groves of the neighbourhood (*Dair-magh*, 'Oak-plain'). The other was Kells; and here too the saint resided under a great oak-tree, which stood for centuries and ultimately fell in a tremendous storm. According to the Irish *Life of St. Columcille*, 'a certain man took somewhat of its bark to tan his shoes with. Now, when he did on the shoes, he was smitten with leprosy from his sole to his crown.' The same authority states that on one occasion St. Columcille made a hymn to arrest a fire that was consuming the oak-wood, 'and it is sung against every fire and against every thunder from that time to this.'³ Again, the name *Columcille*, 'Dove of the Church,' was not inappropriate to a saint thus intimately connected with oak-groves: it recalls the doves on the oaks of Dodona and Libya⁴ and Brittany.⁵ On one occasion,

¹ Hyde *Literary History of Ireland* p. 169.

² *Id. ib.* p. 170 n. 1.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 170 f.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xv. 295.

⁵ *Supra* p. 7.

when St. Columcille was celebrating the Mass, a ball of fire like a comet was seen burning brightly on his head¹; and we read more than once that there shone round him a golden light, bright as the sun, descending from the sky,² or a gleam as of lightning,³ or a brilliance that others could not bear to look upon.⁴ May we not conclude that the populace regarded St. Columcille as a spiritual successor of the old oak-kings, who personated the sun-god, and ascribed to him miracles appropriate to them? This would suit his descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland,⁵ and might account for the extraordinary veneration in which his foundation at Iona was held. Here he inaugurated Aedan, Dalriadic king of Scotland about 570⁶ A.D.; and hither for more than a thousand years came kings and chiefs, even from far-off Norway, to be buried, in order that their bones might mingle with the dust of the Holy Isle.⁷ Iona, where dwelt the saint of the oak-trees, was to the Christian what Emhain of the Apple-trees had been to the pagan.⁸

St. Kentigern, an older contemporary of St. Columb-

¹ Adamnan *Life of St. Columbkille*, trans. from Dr. W. Reeves' text, Dublin 1875 p. 131.

² *Id. ib.* p. 132. ³ *Id. ib.* p. 133. ⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 134, cp. *ib.* p. 6 f.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 4. ⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 117 f.

⁷ The Duke of Argyll *Iona* new ed. Edinburgh 1889 p. 87.

⁸ The apple-tree too was connected with St. Columbkille. A certain very fruitful apple-tree near the monastery of Durrow, when blessed by him, changed its fruit permanently from a bitter to a sweet kind (Adamnan *Life of St. Columbkille* p. 63).

St. Serf, when on his way to Fife, threw his staff across the sea from Inchkeith to Culross: it there took root and became the famous apple-tree called Morglas (Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* pp. 130, 219). This incident reminds us on the one hand of the apple-branch borne by the Irish divine king, on the other hand of St. Ninian's staff which, when planted, grew into a considerable tree with a healing spring at its base (A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* Edinburgh 1874 p. 19 ff.). See further J. M. Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 235.

cille, planted a small religious establishment on the site of Glasgow. Upon a tree beside his clearing in the forest he is said to have hung a bell for the purpose of summoning his savage neighbours to worship.¹ As a boy at Culross he had restored to life a pet redbreast belonging to his teacher St. Servanus.² And, when Queen Languoreth of Cambria lost the signet-ring entrusted to her by King Rederech, St. Kentigern found it for her in the belly of a salmon caught in the river Clud.³ All these details of his legend are commemorated in the arms of the City of Glasgow, *viz.*: 'Arg. on a mount in base vert an oak tree ppr., the stem at the base thereof surmounted by a salmon on its back, also ppr., with a signet ring in its mouth or; on the top of the tree a redbreast and in the sinister fess point an ancient handbell, both also ppr.'⁴ It may be suspected that St. Kentigern's oak, like the oaks of St. Brigit and St. Columcille, had a sanctity of its own quite apart from its use as a Christian belfry. Mr. J. M. Mackinlay points out that as late as 1500 A.D. the *Arbores sancti Kentigerni* were landmarks in the district, while in their immediate vicinity, close to Little St. Mungo's Church, is a well dedicated to him, another Kentigern's well being actually included within Glasgow Cathedral.⁵ Mr. Mackinlay further suggests that the oak, the salmon, and the redbreast of the Glasgow arms may have been no mere emblems of certain acts of St. Kentigern, but rather the repositories of his external soul.⁶ That Christianity was here grafted on to a heathen stock seems to me highly probable. The oak and the salmon, as we have

¹ Chambers *Book of Days* i. 103.

² Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 42 f.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 99 ff.

⁴ Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* p. 370 no. 5449.

⁵ Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 50.

⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 239 f.

seen,¹ and the redbreast, as we shall see,² are at least consistent with the view that St. Kentigern inherited the position of a priestly king. It is to be noted that he was, on his mother's side, the grandson of Leudonus, king of Leudonia in North Britain.³ But Leudonus is one with Loth,⁴ whom we found to be a king personating the sky-god Lludd.⁵ When St. Columcille visited St. Kentigern, he beheld 'a fiery pillar in fashion as of a golden crown, set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his head, and a light of heavenly brightness encircling him like a certain veil, and covering him, and again returning to the skies.'⁶ Such a manifestation suited the solar king. Even in his early days at Culross, when in need of a light, he had plucked a hazel-bough, which burst into spontaneous fire, 'as if the boy had exhaled flame for breath.'⁷ St. Kentigern's claim to be a priestly king was evidently recognised by King Rederech; for it is recorded of the latter that 'stripping himself of his royal robes, on bended knees and hands joined, with the consent and advice of his lords, he gave his homage to S. Kentigern, and handed over to him the dominion and principedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be king, and himself the ruler of his country under him as his father, as he knew that formerly the great Emperor Constantine had done to S. Silvester. Hence the custom grew up for a long course of years, so long as the Cambrian kingdom lasted in its own proper rank, that the prince was always subject to the bishop.'⁸

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 52 ff., *supra* p. 3 ff.; *Folk-lore* xvii. 39 f., 61 f., 162.

² See my next article.

³ Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 125 ff. According to the Welsh *Bonedd y Saint*, cited by the Rev. J. Gammack in his article on 'Kentigern' in Smith-Wace *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 604, Cyndeyrn's maternal grandfather was Llewddyn Lueddag of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh).

⁴ Forbes *Ib.* p. lxxxvi.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 47 ff.

⁶ Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 106 f.

⁷ *Id.* *ib.* p. 44 f.

⁸ *Id.* *ib.* p. 94.

At Strath in Skye there is a tradition that St. Maree used to preach, and that he hung a bell in a tree, where it remained for centuries, dumb all the week, but ringing of its own accord all Sunday.¹ At Contin, too, there is a burial ground called Praes Maree or 'Maree's Bush.'² The inference that St. Maree had a sacred tree or bush rises to a certainty, when we take into account the evidence concerning Inchmaree, an island in Loch Maree. Pennant, who visited the place in 1772, describes it as 'covered thickly with a beautiful grove of oak, ash, willow, wicken, birch, fir, hazel, and enormous hollies. In the midst is a circular dike of stones, with a regular narrow entrance: the inner part has been used for ages as a burial place, and is still in use. I suspect the dike to have been originally *Druidical*, and that the antient superstition of *Paganism* had been taken up by the saint, as the readiest method of making a conquest over the minds of the inhabitants. A stump of a tree is shewn as an altar, probably the memorial of one of stone; but the curiosity of the place is the well of the saint; of power unspeakable in cases of lunacy. . . . I must add, that the visitants draw from the state of the well an omen of the disposition of St. *Maree*: if his well is full they suppose he will be propitious; if not they proceed in their operations with fears and doubts: but let the event be what it will, he is held in high esteem: the common oath of the country is, by his name: if a traveller passes by any of his resting-places, they never neglect to leave an offering; but the saint is so moderate as not to put him to any expence: a stone, a stick, a bit of rag contents him.'³ St. Maree's tree and well are still to be seen. Miss Gertrude M. Godden⁴

¹ Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 506.

² *Ead. ib.*

³ T. Pennant *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides* Chester 1774 p. 330.

⁴ Miss G. M. Godden 'The Sanctuary of Mourie' in *Folk-lore* iv. 498-508, with an illustration of the tree.

speaks of the former as a bare branchless oak with coins, nails, screws etc. stuck into cracks in its stem, and of the latter as a small dark hole at its foot. Twenty years since it used to be said that 'if anyone removes an offering that has been attached to the tree, some misfortune, probably the taking fire of the house of the desecrator, is sure to follow.'¹ Now St. Maree was the well known Ulster saint Maelrubha (642-722 A.D.), whose name ran through the following series of forms: *Maelrubha*, *Malrubius*, *Malrube*, *Mulray*, *Mourie*, *Moury*, *Maree*.² He was 'the most popular saint of the north of Scotland,'³ and is said to have been descended, like St. Columcille, from Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland.⁴ In fact, he was a most likely person to step into the shoes of an old priestly-king. When Pennant suggested that St. Maree took over an ancient druidical cult, he was well on the right track. I should conjecture that, living beneath his sacred oak on the island in Loch Maree the Christian saint received all the honours due to the Celtic man-god. In support of this conjecture I would cite Sir Arthur Mitchell, a most careful enquirer, who mentions some very remarkable facts with regard to the local prestige of our saint. Writing in 1860 he says⁵: 'The people of the place speak often of the god Mourie instead of St. Mourie.' And an old man in the locality told him that the island's name 'was originally Eilean-Mo-Righ (the Island of my King), or Eilean-a-Mhor-Righ (the Island of the Great King), and that this king was

¹ J. A. Dixon *Gairloch* Edinburgh 1886, cited by Miss Godden *ib.* p. 499.

² Dean Reeves 'Saint Maelrubha: his history and churches' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1861 iii. 258-296.

³ Rev. J. Gammack 'Maelrubha' in Smith-Wace *Dictionary of Christian Biography* iii. 782.

⁴ Dean Reeves *loc. cit.*

⁵ Sir A. Mitchell 'The Various Superstitions in the N.W. Highlands and Islands of Scotland, especially in relation to Lunacy' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1862 iv. 254 n. 3.

long ago worshipped as a god in the district.' We have here what looks like a genuine trace of a divine king connected with an oak-tree and a wonder-working well. His cult seems to have survived down to the seventeenth century; for as late as 1656¹ the Dingwall presbytery was doing its best to prevent the people at Applecross² from sacrificing bulls on August 25, a day dedicated to St. Mourie.³ At Gairloch too, bulls were sacrificed on his day and milk poured upon the hills. Contemporary records mention 'these poore ones who are called Mourie his derilans,' and again so-and-so 'quho receaves the sacrifices and offerings upon accompt of Mourie his poore ones.'⁴ Mr. J. A. Dixon derives the word *derilans* from the Gaelic *deireoil*, 'afflicted.' If so, he may be right in his conclusion that 'the lunatics would seem to have served as priests to the grove.'⁵

It seems a far cry from the brilliant figures of Irish story, Bran and Cormac, Mael-Duin and Connla, with their silver branches and their golden apples, to 'these poore ones' of stunted intellect subsisting on the charity of the country-side. But the history of religion has its Nebuchadnezzars. Was not the vice-roy of the sky-god at Nemi a run-away slave?

Now the *rex Nemorensis*, sword in hand, defended his sacred tree against all comers, thereby proving his

¹ Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 506.

² According to Irish tradition, St. Maelrubha founded Apurcrossan (Applecross in Ross-shire), where he died on April 21, 722 A.D. According to Scotch tradition, he was slain at Urquhart by a body of Norwegians and buried at Apurcrossan in 1024 A.D. See Rev. J. Gammack 'Maelrubha' in Smith-Wace *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 782.

³ Dean Reeves *loc. cit.* supposes that the name *Malrubius* led to confusion with St. *Ruffus* of Capua, whose feast is August 27. Hence in a seventeenth century document Inchmaree is called 'the iland of St. Ruffus,' and fairs named after St. Maelrubha are held in Ross, Moray, Banff etc. in the last week of August or the first week of September. See Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 503 ff.

⁴ *Ead. ib.* p. 506.

⁵ Cited by Miss Godden *ib.*

physical fitness for the office of divine king.¹ Can the same be said of his Gaelic and British peers? In 'The Feast of Bricriu'² there are three competitors for the championship of Ulster, *viz.* Laegaire, Conall, and Cuchulain. After various preliminary tests, in which Laegaire and Conall claim to rival Cuchulain, they all three repair to the dun of Curoi, son of Daire and king of South Munster. Curoi is away from home; but they are hospitably entertained by his wife Blathnath, who bids them guard the dun, each in turn for a night, till Curoi comes back. Laegaire and Conall fail to do so. But Cuchulain successfully slays thrice nine assailants and a monster from the neighbouring lake. At the last there comes against him a gigantic warrior armed with great branches of oak. The warrior hurls his branches at Cuchulain; Cuchulain hurls his javelin at the warrior: both miss. The warrior then attempts to grapple with Cuchulain, who leaps his famous salmon-leap and circles his opponent's head with his sword; then, performing his wheel-trick, turns about in the air and forces the foe to cry for mercy. Finally Cuchulain extorts three concessions, that he should obtain the sovereignty of Erin's heroes, that he should receive the champion's portion, and that his wife should take precedence of all the women in Ulster.

¹ *Ib.* xvi. 322, cp. xv. 376 ff. So well did he defend it that it, or more probably a seedling of it, has perhaps lived down to modern times. At least, the learned though anonymous author of a *Description of Latium* London 1805 p. 85 f. prefaces his account of the *rex Nemorensis* by remarking that in the wood at Nemi 'there is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.' The period between Servius, who described the tree of the *rex Nemorensis*, and our author may be reckoned at 1420 years.

² G. Henderson *Fled Bricrend* (*Irish Texts Society* vol. ii) p. 101 ff., D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 135 ff., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 74 ff.

These concessions are ratified by Curoi, who shortly after returns home with the heads of Cuchulain's victims. In the sequel the vanquished warrior reappears one evening among the heroes of Ulster assembled in the Red Branch at Emain. He comes as a big uncouth staff-bearer, carrying a great spreading club-tree and a heavy axe, and offers to let any hero hew off his head, on condition that next night he may hew off the hero's head. Three of the company, including Laegaire and Conall, accept the challenge, but, when the beheaded giant each time walks off with his head in his hands, fail through terror to keep their part of the compact. At length Cuchulain beheads him, and alone awaits his return. The stranger deals him a counter-blow, but with the blunt side of the axe,¹ and bids him rise as acknowledged champion. He himself proves to be Curoi son of Daire, who had come on purpose to confirm his promises to Cuchulain.

So the warrior armed with oak-branches was none other than Curoi. Indeed, it is probable that Curoi son of *Daire* means Curoi son of 'Oak' (Irish *dair*).² Curoi with a branch of oak in his hand attacking Cuchulain, who defends himself with a sword, resembles the would-be king at Nemi with a branch in his hand attacking the sword-bearing successor of Virbius. And, be it observed, this attack formed the crowning test of fitness for the kingship of Ireland's warriors. It established Cuchulain's right to the golden cup decorated with a bird in precious stones, the significance of which we have already considered.³ Further, Cuchulain, like Virbius, was a solar

¹ Dr. Frazer has suggested to me that this business of pretended decapitation, of which we shall see another example *infra*, may well be the mythical counterpart of an actual custom.

² D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 506, *La civilisation des Celtes* p. 28, connects Daire with the *Dario-s* of Dario-ritum, on which see Dottin *Manuel de l'antiquité celtique* p. 331, Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* i. 1241.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 168.

hero.¹ And Curoi is regarded by Mr. Standish O'Grady,² by Prof. Rhys,³ and by Prof. A. C. L. Brown,⁴ as a sort of Manannan. Hence we might look to find Cuchulain mating with Curoi's wife Blathnath, as with Manannan's wife Fand.⁵ But this is just what we do find; for a well-known Irish romance⁶ tells how one November-eve Cuchulain, in response to a pre-arranged signal from Blathnath, entered Curoi's dun, slew Curoi and carried off to Ulster Blathnath daughter of Midir along with Midir's three cows and cauldron. Another story⁷ has it that Curoi had originally got Blathnath, the cows and the cauldron, by guile from their rightful owner Cuchulain, whom he subsequently vanquished in a duel by main force. In fact, Curoi and Cuchulain contended with alternate success for the hand of Blathnath—a trait which recalls their alternate decapitation, and suggests comparison with the strife between Gwyn and Gwythyr for possession of Creiddylad daughter of Lludd.⁸ Again, if we may thus venture to detect in Cuchulain some characteristics of the divine king, certain *gessa* or tabus laid upon him⁹ fall into place, *e.g.* he might not swerve a foot from his path before a fight with one man, he might not refuse a duel, he might not go to Emain without a combat, and—like the king of Tara¹⁰—he might not let the sun be up before him in Emain. These rules were made for one who must always accept

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 431 ff., Miss E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* London 1898 p. lvi ff.

² S. O'Grady, *History of Ireland, critical and philosophical* Dublin 1881 i. 220 n.

³ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 474 n. 1.

⁴ Prof. A. C. L. Brown 'Iwain' in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 51.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 149 f.

⁶ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 473 f.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 475 ff.

⁸ *Folk-lore* xvii. 48.

⁹ Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* xiv. 399 ff.

¹⁰ *Folk-lore* xvii. 161 f.

a challenge to single fight, one who had powers and responsibilities somehow connected with the sun—posing perhaps as champion and consort of a sun-goddess.¹ But, it will be said, if Cuchulain was a second Virbius, where was his sacred tree? We naturally turn to Emain. In this palace of the Ulster kings the three principal forts were called the Royal Branch (*Craebh Ruadh*), the Red Branch (*Craebh Derg*), and the Speckled House (*Teite Brec*).² But the word *Craebh* is constantly used in place-names of a sacred tree. Dr. Joyce³ writes: '*Craebh* [crave] signifies either a branch or a large wide-spreading tree. This name, like *bile*, was given to large trees, under whose shadow games or religious rites were celebrated, or chiefs inaugurated; and we may conclude that one of these trees formerly grew wherever we find the word perpetuated in a name.' Hence it appears that a sacred tree or trees formed the nucleus of the palace at Emain; and it becomes highly probable that the Red Branch knights of Ulster succeeded to the position once occupied by champions of the sacred tree.⁴

¹ *Ib.* xvii. 163.

² Miss E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga* p. 36 n. 1.

³ P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 483.

⁴ After reaching this conclusion I found that I had been to some extent anticipated by Miss E. Hull, who in *Folk-lore* xii. 438 suggests that the three halls of Emain were called the Royal Branch, the Red Branch, and the Speckled House, while the knights of the king were styled Champions of the Royal Branch, because of the 'Apple-tree of Emain.' The golden apples of Conchobar's sceptre (*Folk-lore* xvii. 160) and the 'apple-tree from Emain' on Manannan's isle (*ib.* p. 143 f.) certainly support this conjecture. On the other hand, Conchobar's palace was built of red yew (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 12, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 43, though Douglas Hyde *A Literary History of Ireland* p. 295 says red oak); and, if the folk-etymology of Emain from *Eó-muin* (O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 71 f., 528) contains a germ of truth, we might refer the first element in the name to *Eó*, 'a yew-tree' (Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 568), as well as to *Eó*, 'a brooch.' When Cuchulain met Fand beneath a yew-tree (*Folk-lore* xvii. 150),

The British equivalent of Cuchulain is Gawain.¹ And an interesting parallel to the whole episode of Cuchulain and Curoi is furnished by the old English poem *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyght* published by Sir Frederic Madden in 1839² from a MS. apparently written in the reign of Richard II. The poem is thus summarised by Miss J. L. Weston³:

'On a New Year's Day, while Arthur is keeping his Christmas feast at Camelot, a gigantic knight, clad in green, mounted on a green horse,⁴ and carrying in one hand a holly bough, and in the other a "Danish" axe, enters the hall and challenges one of Arthur's knights to stand him "one stroke for another." If any accept the challenge he may strike the first blow, but he must take oath to seek the Green Knight at a twelve-months' end and receive the return stroke. Seeing the gigantic size and fierce appearance of the stranger the knights hesitate, much to Arthur's indignation. Finally Gawain accepts the challenge, and, taking the axe, smites the Green Knight's head from the body. To the dismay of all present the trunk rises up, takes up the head, and, repeating the challenge to Gawain to meet him on the next New Year's morning at the Green Chapel, rides from the hall.

Faithful to his compact, Gawain, as the year draws to an end, sets forth amid the lamentations of the court to abide his doom, which all look upon as inevitable. He

was it a case of the union of the champion with the goddess of a sacred tree? Ibor the guardian of Lug, Cuchulain's father, and Ibor the brother of Emer, Cuchulain's wife, bore a name that denoted 'a yew' (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 511, *Les Celtes* p. 52).

¹ Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain* London 1897 pp. 17, 28, 30, 63 f., 92 ff., 100 f., 110.

² Sir F. Madden *Syr Gawayne* London 1839 p. 1 ff.

³ Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 86 ff.

⁴ For the green horse cp. the story of Ciabán (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 198 ff.).

journeys north, and on Christmas Eve comes to a castle, where the lord receives him kindly, tells him he is within easy reach of his goal, and bids him remain over the feast as his guest. Gawain accepts. The three last days of the year the host rides forth on a hunting expedition, leaving Gawain to the care of his wife, and making a bargain that on his return they shall mutually exchange whatever they have won during the day. Gawain is sorely tempted by the wiles of his hostess, who, during her lord's absence, would fain take advantage of Gawain's well-known courtesy and fame as a lover. But he turns a deaf ear to her blandishments, and only a kiss passes between them, which he, in fulfilment of his compact, passes on to the husband on his return. The next day the result is similar: Gawain receives and gives two kisses. The third day, besides three kisses, the lady gives him a green lace, which, if bound round the body, has the property of preserving from harm. In view of the morrow's ordeal, from which Gawain does not expect to escape with his life, he cannot make up his mind to part with this talisman, but gives his host the kisses and says nothing about the lace. The morrow morning at day-break he rides forth, and comes to the Green Chapel, apparently a natural hollow, or cave, in a wild and desolate part of the country. The Green Knight appears, armed with his axe, and bids Gawain kneel to receive the blow. As the axe descends, Gawain instinctively flinches, and is rebuked for his cowardice by the knight, who tells him he cannot be Gawain. The second time he remains steady, but the axe does not touch him. The third time the knight strikes him, inflicting a slight cut on the neck.

Gawain promptly springs to his feet, drawing his sword, and announces that he has now stood "one stroke for another," and that the compact is at an end; whereon the Green Knight reveals himself as his erewhile host. He

was cognisant of his, wife's dealings with Gawain ; the three strokes equalled the three trials of his guest's fidelity, and, had not Gawain proved partially faithless to his compact by concealing the gift of the lace, he would have escaped unharmed. The name of the Green Knight is Bernlak de Hautdesert, and he had undertaken this test of Gawain's valour at the instance, and by help of the skill, of Morgan le Fay, who desired to vex Guinevere by shaming the Knights of the Round Table.

Gawain returns to court, tells the whole story, concealing nothing, and all the knights vow henceforward to wear a green lace in his honour.'

Miss Weston institutes a careful comparison of this poem with other extant versions of the same tale.¹ Some of these contain variant details deserving notice : *e.g.* in the German *Diu Krône* Gawain's host lives in a turning castle, the battlements of which, with one exception, are surmounted by human heads ; and similarly in the French romance *La Mule sans Frein* the giant who challenges Gawain has a castle surrounded by poles supporting human heads. Now in classical mythology, as I have elsewhere² shown, the practice of hanging heads over the doorway is characteristic of the oak-king,³ and appears to be a modification of a still more primitive practice—that of hanging the heads on the sacred oak.⁴ On this showing the Green Knight, who is plainly identical with Gawain's host, would be aptly compared with Virbius. Indeed, when dealing with Virbius himself, we noted the fact that his name was 'referable

¹ Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 88 ff.

² *Classical Review* xvii. 269 ff.

³ Sithon (Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 224 f.) : Oinomaos (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 5, Philostr. *Jun. imagg.* 9. 3 and the works of art cited in *Classical Review* xvii. 271 f.) : Euenos (schol. *Il.* 9. 557). Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 377 f., 382.

⁴ Phorbas (Philostr. *Sen. imagg.* 2. 19) : Thoas (Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 540 fig. 31). Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 376 f., xvi. 323 n. 1.

to the root of *viridis*:¹ it might be literally rendered the Green Man.

Nor need we be surprised if the Green Knight bears a branch of holly, not (like Curoi, his Irish analogue) a branch of oak. For we have seen already that the peculiar mining population in the oak-forest of Dean swear by a stick of holly.² And in one story connected with Gawain we seem to catch the actual transition from oak to holly. A fragmentary poem on the *Marriage of Sir Gawaine*,³ printed by Sir Frederic Madden from the text of the Percy MS. as given in Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* ed. 1794 iii. 350, tells how one Christmas King Arthur came to Tearne-wadling in Cumberland, where a bold baron with a great club upon his back challenged him to fight, or pay a ransom, returning for the purpose on New Year's Day. When he rode out to keep his appointment, he met a hideous hag sitting

‘Betwixt an oke and a greene hollen,’

who made love to him. He extricated himself by promising that Gawain should wed her, and passed on to keep his tryst with the baron, who claimed to be a king and brother of the beldame. Gawain, to fulfil King Arthur's promise, sought out the woman where she sat

‘Vnderneath a greene holly tree’:

but on the marriage night he found her as beautiful as she had before been ugly. She offered him the choice, whether he would have her beautiful by night or by day. He left it courteously to her—an act, which broke a spell laid on her by a step-mother, and enabled her to regain her good looks permanently.

To Mr. A. Nutt⁴ belongs the credit of setting this

¹ *Ib.* xvi. 291 n.

² *Ib.* xvii. 54.

³ Sir F. Madden *Syr Gawayne* p. 288 ff.

⁴ *The Academy* April 30, 1892, p. 425 f.

story beside an important Irish parallel, existing in two versions. The older and simpler version occurs in the *Cóir Anmann*, and is translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes.¹ It may be summarised as follows. It had been foretold that one of the sons of Dáire Doimthech would obtain the kingship of Ireland, and that his name would be Lugaid. Hence his five sons were all called Lugaid. Now the Assembly of Teltown was held by Dáire, and his sons raced their horses there. When Dáire enquired of the druid, which son would obtain the kingship after himself, the answer was: 'A fawn with golden sheen will come into the assembly, and the son who shall take the fawn will take the kingship after thee.' In due course the golden fawn appeared and was pursued by Dáire's sons, till a magical mist separated them from the men of Erin. It was Lugaid Laigde, otherwise known as Macniad, who actually caught the fawn. The brothers were now overtaken by a snow-storm; but one of them found a great house with fire and food in abundance. It was kept by a horrible hag, who bade him share her couch. When he refused to do so, she declared: 'Thou hast severed from thee sovranity and kingship.' After this the other brothers arrived in turn and were severally greeted by the hag. Last of all came Lugaid Laigde, who had caught and devoured the fawn. 'Then,' says the chronicler, 'Lugaid of the Fawn goes with her into the house for sake of food and ale. Howbeit the hag went into the couch of white bronze and Macniad followed her; and it seemed to him that the radiance of her face was the sun rising in the month of May, and her fragrance was likened by him to an odorous herb-garden. And after that he mingled in love with her, and she said to him: "Good is thy journey, for *I* am the Sovranity, and *thou* shalt obtain the sovranity of Erin."' On the morrow the brothers found themselves alone on a plain,

¹ *Ib.* April 23, 1892, p. 399.

and returned to the Assembly of Teltown to relate their adventure.

The name *Lugaid* is derived from Lug,¹ the Irish sun-god. This story, therefore, reinforces the lesson that we learnt from the *Bailé an Scáil*, viz. that the king of Tara was regarded as Lug incarnate and husband of the goddess who possessed the sun-tree.² But our story does more than that. For the resemblance of its *dénouement* to that of the *Marriage of Sir Gawaine* raises a strong presumption that Sir Gawain too will prove to be a sun-king married to the goddess of a sun-tree.

Gawain was the son of Lot, king of Norway,³ behind whom lurks the ancient British sky-god Lud.⁴ Miss Weston inferred from this relationship that Gawain 'was originally a sun-deity.'⁵ She also pointed out that 'one of the most striking characteristics of Gawain, and one which may undoubtedly be referred to the original conception of his character, is that of the waxing and waning of his strength as the day advances and declines. . . . Scholars have seen in this growth and waning of Gawain's power, directly connected as it is with the waxing and waning of the sun, a proof that this Celtic hero was at one time a solar divinity.'⁶ On these and other grounds⁷ Miss Weston concludes that Gawain had solar powers. She also makes out a good case for believing that he, like Bran, Connla, Oisín, etc., went on a quest to the Otherworld described as the *Château Merveil*; that he found it to be a

¹ D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 43, *L'épopée celtique* p. 512.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 157 ff.

³ See the genealogy in Miss J. L. Weston's translation of Wolfram von Eschenbach *Parzival* London 1894 i. 295.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 47 ff.

⁵ Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 52.

⁶ *Ead. ib.* p. 12 f.

⁷ *Ead. ib.* p. 13 ff. Gawain's horse *Gringalet* or *Keincaled*, and Gawain's sword *Escalibor* or *Caledwulch*. The former recalls the horses of various solar heroes: the latter, when drawn, 'throws so great a light . . . that it is as if two torches had been kindled.'

magnificent palace on an island inhabited by women, who dwelt apart from men;¹ and that he wedded the mistress of it, a lady of surpassing beauty known by various names (*L'Orgueilleuse de Logres, Orgeluse, Blancemal, Lorie, Florie, Florî, Amurfinia*, etc.), but originally nameless, and to be regarded as 'either the *Daughter of the King of the Other-world*, or as herself the *Queen of that Other-world*.'² Finally Miss Weston remarks that 'a feature recurring in the Irish tales, the bearing of a branch of a wondrous tree by the queen, seems reflected in the command laid upon the knight to pluck the bough of the tree guarded by Gramoflanz.'³

The incident in question occurs in the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach.⁴ Orgeluse bids Gawain, if he would win her as his bride, to break a bough from off a certain tree and bring her a garland of its fresh leaves. The tree is guarded by Gramoflanz, king of Rosche Sabbins.⁵ Gawain, traversing a wood of *Tamris* (tamarisk) and *Prisein* (?)⁶ and crossing the Perilous Ford, reaches the tree, breaks a bough, and makes of it a garland for his helmet. Hereupon up rides a knight :

'Twas King Gramoflanz—'To the garland that doth there in thine helmet wave

I yield not my claim !' thus quoth he, 'Sir Knight, were ye *two* I trow, Who here for high honour seeking had reft from my tree a bough, I had greeted ye not, but had fought ye, but since thou alone shalt be, Thou canst ride hence, for strife unequal I deem it a shame to me !'

And Gawain, too, was loth to fight him, for no armour the king did wear, And nought but a yearling falcon he did on his white hand bear. (And the sister of Gawain gave it, Itonjé the maid was hight.)

¹ *Ead. ib.* chapter v, p. 32 ff.

² *Ead. ib.* chapter vi, p. 44 ff.

³ *Ead. ib.* p. 37.

⁴ Wolfram *Parzival* ed. K. Bartsch Leipzig 1871 xii. 530 ff., trans. Miss J. L. Weston xii. 269 ff.

⁵ *Ib.* xiv. 233, cp. xii. 322, xiv. 858. This is Wolfram's equivalent of Chrétien 10186 *Roche de Sanguin* (Bartsch vol. ii p. 298).

⁶ *Ib.* xii. 282. Bartsch *ad loc.* vol. ii p. 288 cp. Prov. *brasil*.

His headgear in Sinzester¹ fashioned was of peacock's plumage bright,
And green as grass was the mantle of velvet that wrapped him round,
And with ermine lined, and on each side it swept even unto the ground.²

When Gramoflanz learns that the trespasser is Gawain, whose father king Lot had slain his father king Irôt, he alters his mind, and at once challenges Gawain to fight him sixteen days hence at Ioflanz in the presence of a great company. Gawain meantime returns with his bough to the *Château Merveil* and there weds Orgeluse. Next morning Parzival too breaks a bough from the same tree and wreaths it round his helmet. Gawain and he meet accidentally and, mistaking each other for king Gramoflanz,³ fight a furious duel, in which Gawain is worsted. Parzival on discovering his error cries aloud :

Alas ! that with gallant Gawain I have foughten so fierce a fight,
'Tis *myself* whom I here have vanquished, and my joy shall have taken flight.⁴

Gawain's combat with Gramoflanz is necessarily postponed for a day ; and Parzival begs leave to encounter the king in Gawain's stead :

'Right gladly will I defy him, King Gramoflanz, in his pride ;
I brake from his tree this morning a bough ere I thence did ride,
And for that he of need must fight me—For conflict I sought his land,
And for nothing else came I hither but to fight with his strong right hand.'⁵

Gawain of course will not let Parzival go ; but Parzival steals out at break of day, meets and beats King Gramoflanz. Gramoflanz, however, still insists on fighting Gawain, and is only reconciled to the loss of his bough by wedding Itonjé, Gawain's sister, of whom he has long been enamoured.

¹ Probably *Winchester*, according to Bartsch vol. ii p. 292. In vi. 603 Kondrie, daughter of Lot, wears 'a hat of the English peacock' (Miss Weston vol. ii. p. 210).

² *Ib.* xii. 332 ff.

³ *Ib.* xiv. 9 f., 363 f.

⁴ *Ib.* xiv. 157 f.

⁵ *Ib.* xiv. 359 ff.

Wolfram wrote his *Parzival* early in the thirteenth century and quotes as his source Kyot the Provençal.¹ Kyot and Chrétien de Troyes appear to have had a common source in a book given to the latter by Philip, Count of Flanders, and cited by him in the prologue to his *Conte del Graal*: a fragment of this common source is perhaps still extant.² It is, therefore, practically certain that such a name as Gramoflanz goes back to a Romance (? Breton) original; and that, in seeking to determine its earliest form, we must set side by side the variants of Wolfram and Chrétien:—

{	Wolfram: <i>Gramoflanz</i> , <i>Gramovlanz</i> . ³
	Chrétien: <i>Guiromelans</i> , <i>li guiromelans</i> , <i>li Guiremelanz</i> ,
	<i>li griomelans</i> . Cp. Heinrich von dem Türlin (<i>Diu Krône</i>): <i>Gîremelanz</i> . ⁴

In view of these variants I would suggest that the name was originally **Guiramelans*, representing a Latin *visci-*ramellanus*, which in Old French would become successively *vis-ramel-ans*, *guis-ramel-ans*, *gui-ramel-ans*.⁵ On this showing Wolfram has preserved the original *a* as against Chrétien's *o* or *e*, though Chrétien's forms are otherwise more primitive than Wolfram's: yet even in the scarcely recognisable *Gramoflanz* the ending (cp. *pflanze*) shows that the name suggested to Wolfram some connexion with

¹ *Ib.* xvi. 663 ff.

² Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1906 i. 1, 73, 93, 319, 325.

³ K. Bartsch in Index to his ed. of Wolfram's *Parzival*.

⁴ *Id.* *Germanische Studien* Wien 1875 ii. 121.

⁵ Old French used both *vis* and *guis* for 'mistletoe' (Mod. Fr. *gui*). *Guis*, as I learn from my friend Dr. P. Giles, was probably a borrowed word (? from Breton), which superseded the Old French *vis*. The Latin **ramellus* appears in Old French *ramel*, 'a branch,' Provençal *ramels*, 'a bush,' Modern French *rameau*, 'a branch.' See A. Brachet *An Etymological Dictionary of the French Language* ed. 3 Oxford 1882 s. *vv*. 'gui,' 'rameau,' G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* ed. 2 Paderborn 1901 nos. 7745, 10227.

the vegetable world. If I am right in my conjecture,¹ Gramoflanz or rather Guiromelans was a king who defended a tree against all comers and himself bore a name meaning 'He of the Mistletoe-branch' or 'the Mistletoe-branch-man.'² As already mentioned, he wore a mantle of velvet 'green as grass'—a trait which recalls Gawain's other antagonist the Green Knight and suits the guardian of a sacred tree.³ On another occasion

Gramoflanz, he ware

For garment a robe of wonder, in Gampfassâsch wroughten fair.

'Twas a rick silk, all gold embroidered, and woven with golden thread,
And a shimmer of light from his vesture afar round the monarch spread.⁴

¹ Bartsch *Germanische Studien* ii. 121 would derive the name from *guirlande* (Lat. *gyrus*) and *meller, mesler*, 'to fight,' i.e. 'He who fights for the garland.' But the Old French *garlande*, Provençal *garlanda*, are against him; nor has *guirlande* anything to do with *gyrus*. See Körting *op. cit.* nos. 4429, 10389.

² Hence the appellative forms *li guiromelans*, etc.

³ Mr. D. Fitzgerald in the *Revue celtique* iv. 185 f. reports the following folk-tale concerning Loch Guirr: 'This lake, all Munster knows, is enchanted; but the spell passes off it once in every seven years. The lake then, to whoever has the luck to behold it, appears dry; and the Tree may be partly seen at the bottom of it, covered with a Green Cloth. A certain bold fellow was at the spot one day at the very instant when the spell broke, and he rode his horse towards the tree and snatched away the *Brat 'Uaine* [Green Cloth] that covered it. As he turned his horse, and fled for his life, the woman who sat on the watch, knitting under the cloth, at the foot of the tree, cried out,

Awake, awake, thou silent tide!

From the Dead Women's Land a horseman rides,

From my head the green cloth snatching.

At the words the waters rose; and so fiercely did they pursue him that as he gained the edge of the lake one half of his steed was swept away, and with it the *Brat 'Uaine*, which he was drawing after him. Had that been taken, the enchantment was ended for ever.' Mr. Fitzgerald *ib.* p. 192 cp. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* ii. 42 ff.

The Rev. J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1891 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*: Argyllshire iii.) p. 231 tells of 'the Knight of the Green Vesture . . . who fell fighting in the play of swords against the Fierce Earl of the Wood-of-Masts (*Coille-nan-Crann*).'

⁴ Wolfram *Parzival* trans. Miss J. L. Weston xiv. 733 ff.

The gold, like the green, was appropriate to the bearer of the mistletoe.¹ It will further be noticed that whoever wore the branch in question (Gramoflanz, Gawain, or Parzival) was exposed thereby to the attack of another champion eager to wrest from him the coveted prize. Lastly, the branch was worn round the helmet as a garland or crown: it formed in fact the *regale* of the *rex nemorensis*. Not only was Gamoflanz a king; but Gawain too is said to have reigned as a king in *Walweitha*,² that is Galloway,³ and—as Miss Weston points out⁴—it is in *Galvoie* or Galloway that Chrétien locates the *Château Merveil*.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 204 ff. Is there an allusion to the man-god with his golden bough in Anth. Pal. 4. 1. 47 f. Meleager ναὶ μὴν καὶ χρύσειον ἀεὶ θελοῖο Πλάτωνος | κλῶνα, τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθι λαμπρόμενον?

² William of Malmesbury *Gesta regum Anglorum* 3. 287 (ed. W. Stubbs London 1889 ii. 342).

³ F. Lot in *Romania* xxv. 2 n. 3. ⁴ Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Perceval* i. 191.



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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

VII. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

It appears, then, that the King of the Wood as represented in Ultonian myth (Curoi son of King 'Oak' vanquished by Cuchulain) finds his counterpart in Arthurian romance (the Green Knight with his holly-branch vanquished by Gawain; King 'Mistletoe-branch' vanquished by Gawain and Perceval). I have next to show that the same equation holds good for that other great cycle of Irish myth, the Ossianic tales. What Cuchulain and the Red Branch Champions are to Ultonian tradition, Finn and the Fianna are to Ossianic tradition. Were Finn and the Fianna in any sense Kings of the Wood? And, if so, can their actions as such be paralleled by those of Gawain and his peers?

Finn's father was Cumhal, who according to the Leinster pedigree was a descendant of Nuada Necht, ancestor of the kings of Leinster.¹ The name *Cumhal* is one with

¹S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 99 in the *Panegyric of King Cormac* gives the Leinster pedigree thus: Finn—Cumhall—Sualtach—Baescne—Nuada Necht. Cf. J. O'Donovan in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 284 f., T. Powel in *The Academy* Jan. 24, 1885, xxvii. 64. Prof. K. Meyer *ib.* Feb. 21, 1885, xxvii. 135 distinguishes three pedigrees of Finn, viz. (1) that of the *Lebor na hUídre* p. 41 Finn—Cumall—Trénmór, Finn's mother being Murni Munchóem, grand-daughter of Núadu mac Achi one of the druids of Cathair Mór: (2) that of the *Yellow Book of Lecan* col. 768 (? Munster pedigree) Finn—Cumall—Baescne—Fir Da Roth—Guill—Irguill—Daire—Dedad—Sin: (3) that of the *Book of Leinster* pp. 311, 378 b Finn—Cumall—Trenmor—Suelt—Eltam (? Suelt + Eltam = Sualtam)—Baescne—Nuada Necht.

that of the Celtic god *Camulos*,¹ and is connected by Prof. Rhys with the Old Saxon *himil* and the German *Himmel*, 'sky.'² This connexion might be supported by the relation of Nuada Necht to Nuada the sky-god.³ Again, Finn's mother Muirne was daughter of Tadhg and grand-daughter of Nuada.⁴ In *The Festivities at the House of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe* Finn states that his first name was *Glas-dioghuin* and his second name *Giolla-an-chuasain*.⁵ Mr. N. O'Kearney in a note *ad loc.* explains that *Glasdioghuin* means 'the invulnerable Glas.' But *Glas* itself was a Celtic colour-word applied to oaks, etc.,⁶ so that Finn's first name may fairly be rendered 'the invulnerable Green,' a sufficiently striking parallel to the Green Knight of Arthurian fame. Finn's second name denotes 'the boy, or wight, of the excavation.' 'The Fenian leader,' says Mr. O'Kearney, 'was so called in his youth, because he had been bred up by his foster-mother, Boghmuin, in the hollow of an oak, in order to avoid the vengeance of the clans of Moirne, and other enemies of his father.' An Irish folk-tale⁷ tells how Cumhal's mother reared young

¹ D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 52 f., Dottin *Manuel de l'Antiquité celtique* pp. 85, 227.

² Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 38 ff.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 33, 39. Baiscne, son of Nuada Necht, bears a name connected with the Gaelic *boisg*, 'gleam' (see J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1862 iii. 60).

⁴ J. O'Donovan in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* iv. 284. Muirne was daughter of Tadhg and grand-daughter of Nuada the sky-god (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 245 in *The Colloquy with the Ancients*, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 159), or of Nuada Necht (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 519 in Extract x. iv. b from K. 5), or of Nuadu mac Achi (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 379 ff. in the *Cause de la Bataille de Cnucha*, cp. *Folk-lore Record* iv. 19 'Muirrean, daughter of the powerful druid, Tadhg of the luminous side' in P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* London 1866 p. 216 'The Fight of Castle Knoc').

⁵ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* Dublin 1855 ii. 129.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xvii. 310 n. 5.

⁷ J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* London 1890 p. 204 ff.

Finn in a chamber cut out in the heart of a great oak-tree : after five years spent in the oak she took him out and taught him to walk ; then she pursued him down-hill with a switch, and he pursued her up-hill with it, till at the end of three days he had become a great runner. Argyllshire tales¹ relate that Cumhal's sister Los Lurgann ('Speedy Foot') got her brother, a joiner dwelling in Ulster wood, to fashion a house for her in one of the trees, where she lived with her infant charge. They pursued each other round the tree with switches of hawthorn, till he learnt to run with great speed. 'She then taught him to leap by digging a hole in the ground, which was gradually getting deeper, till at last he could spring up a wall from a hole which reached to his breast.'

Various tales are current as to the manner in which Finn became king of the Fianna. According to the Irish folk-tale² already cited, Finn came one day to a dense forest in which timber was being felled for a royal *dun*. He was told that this *dun* was attacked every evening at nightfall by an old hag and her three sons who burnt it with torches ; that the best champions in Erin, having tried in vain to save it, were then in the king's dungeons awaiting decapitation ; and that the king had promised his only daughter to any man who should save the *dun*. Finn did so and slew the nocturnal foes, but chose as his reward the condemned champions, who became his Fianna. According to *The Colloquy with the Ancients*,³ for twenty-three years in succession Aillen, son of Midhna, had come to Tara at Samain, lulled every one to sleep with his magical music, and then burnt the whole town with a

¹ Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fians* London 1891 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* : Argyllshire Series, iv) pp. 17 f., 24, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 159 f.

² Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 213 ff.

³ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 142 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 164 ff.

blast from his fire-breathing mouth. Conn the Hundred-fighter, king of Ireland, at the Feast of Tara asked the assembled warriors for a man to defend the town against Aillen that night. None volunteered save Finn, then a lad of ten years only. Thanks to the spear of Fiacha, son of Congha, Finn kept awake at his watch, baffled the attack of Aillen, beheaded him, and fixed his head upon a pole. For this valiant deed Finn was made king of the Fianna, Goll, son of Morna,¹ their previous king, being the first to recognise his claim. So, just as Cuchulain became king of the warriors of Ireland by defending Curoi's *dun* against the night attack of an assailant bearing branches of oak, Finn was promoted to the kingship by defending a *dun* against the night attack of an assailant bearing torches or breathing out fire. The analogy is not without significance.

Argyllshire lore gives a different account of the matter :²

'Fionn went for service to the Clanna Mòlum; his mother gave him a bag of apples and three pins. When he entered the palace they said to him, "Food of apples, youth, we would fain get from you." He had left the bag at the door, and told them to bring it in themselves and take their pleasure. One after the other of the Clanna Mòlum went out, and not one could move the bag. At last Goll said: "The shadow of evil and evil wishes be upon you that would not bring it in, though seven times its own weight of earth were sticking to it." He went out himself, broke three of his ribs, and came in roaring. Fionn then went out and took it in on the point of a twig, and this was the first terror he struck into Clanna Mòlum. Then the palace took fire, and was burning at its two ends, and in the very middle. Fionn stuck his three wires, one in the middle and one at each end, and the fire went out. This was the second terror. His father's men had fled to the cave on the shore . . . his first action in obtaining superiority over them and evincing that "he was a worthy son of a worthy father," was by bringing a bag of apples which he left, and which by enchantment or secret sleight could not be lifted off the ground. One after another of the men in the cave was sent to bring the bag in, but they

¹ Another name for Morna was Daire Dearg ('Oak the Red'): see *The Boyish Exploits of Finn* in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* iv. 291, *Revue celtique* v. 195 ff. (text only).

² Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fians* p. 22 f.

could make nothing of it either individually or as a body. One by one they failed to lift it from the ground. Finn (Fionn) himself then went out, and took in the bag, suspended from his little finger. This at once put him in the forefront, and even made him master of the whole band.'

The interest of this tradition is that it combines a confused remembrance of the burning *dun* test with a confused remembrance of the Otherworld apple-branch. The bag of apples brought into the palace 'on the point of a twig' is the homely counterpart of Bran's silver apple-branch, Cormac's silver branch with nine golden apples, Mael-Duin's branch with three apples on its tip, and proves that Finn too claimed to be king of the solar tree.¹ As Virgil's golden bough would follow none but the appointed hero,² so none but Finn, the destined king, could bring in the apples on the twig.

On this showing Finn was the human representative of Manannan—a conclusion which squares well with sundry other features of his legend. For Mongan, son of Manannan, was also said to have been a re-birth of Finn.³ And Finn, 'the invulnerable Green,' would fittingly embody Manannan, who appeared to Fiachna Finn as a warrior wearing 'a green cloak of one colour.'⁴ Appropriately enough, too, Finn obtained possession of Manannan's treasure-bag containing, among other things, Manannan's shirt and knife.⁵

Again, Finn, like Cormac and Tadg,⁶ had a magic cup of clay called the Cup of Virtues: by drinking from it the Fianna were always victorious. It was once stolen from Finn by Muileartach, Manus' foster-mother, who used a tree for a stick; but Finn recovered it, and along with it a certain apple, to retain which the hag fought long and furiously.⁷

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 156 ff.

² Verg. *Aen.* 6. 146 ff.

³ A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran* i. 42 ff., 136 ff., ii. 1 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* i. 72.

⁵ Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 161 f.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xvii. 152 f., 155, 169.

⁷ Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fianns* p. 131 ff.

As king of the Fianna Finn led a woodland life, and his followers were subjected to tests that were worthy of a King of the Wood. In *The Enumeration of Finn's People*¹ we read :

'No man was taken till in the ground a large hole had been made (such as to reach the fold of his belt) and he put into it with his shield and a fore-arm's length of a hazel stick. Then must nine warriors, having nine spears, with a ten furrows' width betwixt them and him, assail him and in concert let fly at him. If past that guard of his he were hurt then, he was not received into Fianship.

Not a man of them was taken till his hair had been interwoven into braids on him and he started at a run through Ireland's woods ; while they, seeking to wound him, followed in his wake, there having been between him and them but one forest bough by way of interval at first. Should he be overtaken, he was wounded and not received into the Fianna after. If his weapons had quivered in his hand, he was not taken. Should a branch in the wood have disturbed anything of his hair out of its braiding, neither was he taken. If he had cracked a dry stick under his foot [as he ran] he was not accepted. Unless that [at his full speed] he had both jumped a stick level with his brow, and stooped to pass under one even with his knee, he was not taken. Also, unless without slackening his pace he could with his nail extract a thorn from his foot, he was not taken into Fianship : but if he performed all this he was of Finn's people.

A good man verily was he that had those Fianna, for he was the seventh king ruling Ireland : that is to say there were five kings of the provinces, and the king of Ireland ; *he being himself the seventh, conjointly with the king of all Ireland.*'

I would suggest that the stringent rules of the Fianna are best understood as survivals from a time when the King of the Wood was expected to be a man physically perfect, who could face all comers in the fight. Further, to judge from the sentence that I have italicised together with the myth concerning the defence of Tara summarised above,² the king of the Fianna was an *alter ego* to the king of all Ireland. Indeed, Finn in a folk-tale is even called 'the monarch of Erin.'³ It may be surmised that, since the

¹ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 100, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 169 f., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 207.

² *Supra* p. 429 f.

³ Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 232 ff.

Irish king was hedged about by all manner of tabus and religious restrictions,¹ his active duties as defender of the sacred tree devolved upon the king of the Fianna. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the standards of the Fianna described in *The Lay of the Sixteen Chiefs*, a poem by Oisín contained in a manuscript of the fourteenth century, included several trees such as the mountain-ash in full bloom, the ever-green yew (Diarmuid's colours), the furze shrub, etc., while that of Finn himself was called *Gal-Greine*, 'Beam of the Sun' or 'Sun-burst,' and represented the sun with its rays.²

If Finn was thus solar champion, he must needs have kept his physical powers in a state of perfection. Now we learn from *The Festivities at the House of Conan*³ that Finn in his youth, wearing skins of the deer and roebuck and hence called *Giolla-na-g-Croiceann*, 'Wight of the Hides,' made his way to Luachar Deghadh in county Kerry, where he won as his bride Donait, daughter of Daire (the 'Oak') of Sith Daire, by leaping from cliff to cliff of a certain deep valley called Brice Bloighe, and that she bound him under an obligation to perform that leap every year. Mr. O'Kearney, commenting on the tale,⁴ says: 'There is a tradition extant which ascribes the cause of Fionn's death to his neglect of performing that annual rite or duty, and another which records his death in attempting

¹ Miss E. Hull, 'Old Irish Tabus, or *Geasa*' in *Folk-lore* xii. 41 ff., has shown that e.g. King Conchobar, though he was reputed to be the wisest of men and the bravest of warriors, was not as a rule permitted either to pronounce judgment or to fight in person.

² *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 160, 207. Cp. Miss Brooke *Reliques of Irish Poetry* Dublin 1789 p. 58:

'Bright waving from its staff, in air,
Gall-grena high was rais'd,
With gems that India's wealth declare,
In radiant pomp it blaz'd.'

³ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* ii. 129 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 130 n. 6, cp. 30 f.

to leap over the dark terrific chasm, after having neglected to do so till after the expiration of a year and a day. There is a deep glen called *Gleann Dealgain* the (Glen of the river Dealgan), in the county of Waterford, about three miles distant from the town of Dungarvan, on the Waterford road, where it is traditionally related that Fionn Mac Chumhaill made an extraordinary leap on every May-day morning. The stupendous depth of the place is fearful to behold when compared with the narrow expanse at the top; and it is said that Fionn was under a *geasa* (pledge) to leap this glen forwards and backwards before sunrise on the mornings of May-day; but that on a certain morning, as he was on his way to make the leap, he met a red-haired woman milking cows on the way-side, from whom he asked a drink, which she sternly refused, not knowing who it was that asked her for it. When Fionn found his request refused, he foresaw that his days were numbered, and he cursed the red-haired woman; but nevertheless he made towards the glen, which he leaped forward; but in leaping it backwards he fell into the glen, and the imprint of his hands, knees, etc., are still visible on a greenish stone, which lies in the bottom of the glen.¹ This yearly trial was, if I mistake not, the superannuation test of a woodland king.

Other jumpers besides Finn appear to have been woodland kings. Prof. Kuno Meyer cites from the *Senchas Mór* the following tale of *Finn and the Man in the Tree*:²

'Some time afterwards they (i.e. the Fian) carried off captive women from Dún Iascaig in the land of the Déisi. A beautiful maiden was taken by them. Finn's mind desired the woman for himself. She set her heart on a servant whom they had, even Derg Corra son of Ua Daigre. For this was his practice. While food was being cooked by them, the lad jumped to and fro across the cooking hearth. It was for that the maiden loved him. And one day she said to him that he should come to her and lie with her. Derg Corra did not accept that on account of Finn . . . She incited Finn against him and said: "Let us set upon him by force!" Thereupon Finn said to him: "Go

¹ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* ii. 130 n. 6, cp. 30 f.

² *Revue celtique* xxv. 344 ff.

hence, said he, out of my sight, and thou shalt have a truce of three days and three nights, and after that beware of me !”

Then Derg Corra went into exile and took up his abode in a wood and used to go about on shanks of deer (si uerum est) for his lightness. One day as Finn was in the wood seeking him he saw a man in the top of a tree, a blackbird on his right shoulder and in his left hand a white vessel of bronze, filled with water, in which was a skittish trout, and a stag at the foot of the tree. And this was the practice of the man, cracking nuts; and he would give half the kernel of a nut to the blackbird that was on his right shoulder while he would himself eat the other half; and he would take an apple out of the bronze vessel that was in his left hand, divide it in two, throw one half to the stag that was at the foot of the tree, and then eat the other half himself. And on it he would drink a sip of the bronze vessel that was in his hand, so that he and the trout and the stag and the blackbird drank together. Then his followers asked of Finn who he in the tree was, for they did not recognise him on account of the hood of disguise which he wore.

Then Finn put his thumb into his mouth. When he took it out again, his *imbas* illumined him and he chanted an incantation and said: . . . “’Tis Derg Corra son of Ua Daigre,” said he, “that is in the tree.”

All the accessories of this peculiar figure, the nuts,¹ the apple,² the vessel of bronze,³ the blackbird,⁴ the fish,⁵ and the stag,⁶ have met us before as concomitants of the

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 58 f., 61, 165, 311 n. 1, 330.

² *Ib.* xvii. 56 ff., 61, 144, 147 f., 152 ff., 159 f., 162, 169 ff., 308 ff.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 152 f., 155, 168, 173, 309 f., cp. *supra* p. 431.

⁴ *Ib.* xvii. 165 ff., 313 f. ⁵ *Ib.* xvii. 39 ff., 43, 62, 152, 162, 329 f.

⁶ *Ib.* xvii. 46 f., 342. The statement that Derg Corra used to go about on shanks of deer reminds us that Finn too was closely related to the same animal. His mother was transformed into a fawn (D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* London 1890 p. 14 ff.). He married Sadbh, who had previously been turned into a fawn by Fear Doirche, the Dark Druid of the Men of Dea, and was later on forced to resume her animal shape by the same magician (P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* p. 235 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 174 ff.). Sadbh was by Finn the mother of *Oisín*, the ‘Little Fawn’ (O’Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 304), who would not eat the shin-bone of a deer lest it should be that of his own mother. It is said in Skye that Oisín’s mother (or nurse) was a deer; and that fur like deer’s fur grew on his forehead, where it had been licked by her (Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fians* p. 78 ff., Rev. D. MacInnes *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1890 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition: Argyllshire Series*, ii.) p. 470 f., D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* p. 178). Finn himself was on one occasion changed into a grey fawn;

divine king. If we may venture to regard Derg Corra as such, he will provide a parallel to the *rex Nemorensis*, inasmuch as the former, like the latter,¹ was a run-away slave.

Another run-away, though no slave, was Diarmuid, whose father, according to one account was Core,² according to another Donn.³ It must be premised that Finn had wooed and won as his bride Grainne, daughter of King Cormac. *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*⁴ states that Oisín and Diórruing were sent by Finn to Tara that they might ask Cormac for the hand of his daughter, and that Grainne, who had refused all other suitors, at once gave her consent. Another version⁵ has it that Finn chose Grainne as his wife because she outstripped all other women in a race up a certain high hill in Munster thenceforward called *Slienamon*, i.e. *Sliabh na Bhan Fionn*, the 'Hill of the Fair Women.' Or again, it was because she proved herself the wisest of women by answering all his hard questions.⁶ Yet another form of the legend⁷ says that, when Finn went to Grainne, she, wishing to escape him, demanded as a bridal-gift a couple of every wild animal that was in Ireland, to be brought in one drove until they were on the rampart of Tara,—a task that Cailte performed on

and endured, among other metamorphoses, one hundred years as a stag (J. Bonwick *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions* London 1894 p. 53 without citing sources).

¹ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.

² Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 505 n. 1.

³ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 179.

⁴ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* Dublin 1857 iii. 41 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 343 f., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 274 ff.

⁵ P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* p. 223.

⁶ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 36 ff.

⁷ *Book of Lecan* p. 181 a, 2, published by Prof. K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1897 i. 458 ff.

Finn's behalf. However that may be,¹ at the wedding-feast in Tara Grainne, deeming Finn too old to be her partner, made love first to Oisín and, when he refused her, then to Diarmuid. He too turned a deaf ear to her request; but she put him under bonds of danger and destruction that he should flee with her that very night ere Finn and Cormac recovered from their cups. Since Finn, whenever he slept in Tara, kept the keys of the town, Grainne passed out through a postern-gate, and Diarmuid, who was forbidden by a tabu from passing through a postern, leapt the wall. They escaped together to *Doire dha bhoth*, the 'Oak-grove of the two huts,' in Clanrickard, where Diarmuid cut the trees of the grove and made of them a hut with seven doors. Next day Finn and the Fianna went in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives in the Oak-grove. At this critical moment Aonghus of the Brugh, foster-father of Diarmuid, spirited away Grainne under his mantle, while Diarmuid himself with a mighty leap sprang out beyond Finn and the Fianna, and that through the very door which Finn was guarding. Diarmuid came up with Aonghus and Grainne at Ros da shoileach, where they slept that night. At dawn Aonghus departed, after advising Diarmuid not to go into a tree with but one trunk, or a cave with but one door, or an island with but one approach; never to eat his meal where he had cooked it; never to lie where he had eaten; and never to rise where he had lain. In other words, he was to be constantly on his guard against Finn, and even to change his place of sleeping in the night.

Of his next adventures—how he was helped by young Muadhan, who caught salmon for him on a rod of a

¹ From this point I follow *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne* (*Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 47 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 344 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 277 ff.). Cp. the Highland versions given by J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 39 ff., 54 f., 55 ff.

quicken-tree baited with a holly berry, and how he encountered and bound three Green Champions from Muir n-Iocht,¹ whom Finn had sent to arrest him—we need not speak in detail. But when he reached the cantred of *Ui Fhiachrach*, i.e. the 'Hy Fiachrach' of the Moy, who were in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, he went to the *Searbhan Lochlannach*, the 'Surly one of Lochlann,' and got from him license to hunt, provided that he abstained from his berries.

Meantime Finn had fallen in with two men, whose fathers had been at the slaying of Finn's father Cumhal. These men now wished to join the Fianna. Finn allowed them to do so, but demanded as an eric, or compensation for his father's death, either the head of a warrior or a fist-ful of the berries of the quicken-tree of Dubhros. Oisín explained to them that the warrior in question was Diarmuid, and further told them all about the said quicken-tree.

A certain dispute had once arisen between two daughters of Manannan, Aoife who loved the son of Lughaidh, i.e. sister's son to Finn, and Aine who loved Lir of Sith Fhionnchaidh. Each of them said that her own man was the better hurler. This led to a great hurling-match between the Fianna and the Tuatha Dé Danann on a plain by Loch Lein. For three days and three nights they played without either side scoring a goal; and then the Tuatha Dé Danann took their departure. Now the Tuatha Dé Danann had brought with them from the Land of Promise crimson nuts, catkin apples, and fragrant berries. And, as they passed through the Hy Fiachrach, one of these berries fell from them, and grew into a quicken-tree of marvellous virtue: no sickness

¹S. H. O'Grady in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 82 n. 1 understands 'the Iccian Sea, so called probably from the Roman town in Gaul called Portus Iccius.' Lady Gregory, however, prints *Muir-na-locht*; and the followers of the Green Champions are called 'the men of Lochlann' (O'Grady *op. cit.* p. 93).

could seize on any one who ate three of its berries, but he felt the exhilaration of wine and the satisfying of old mead,¹ and were it at the age of a century he that tasted them would return again to be thirty years old. When the Tuatha Dé Danann heard that these powers belonged to the quicken-tree, they sent the Searbhan Lochlannach, a youth of their own people, to guard it. He was a thick-boned, large-nosed, crooked-tusked, red-eyed, swart-bodied giant of the children of wicked Cam, the son of Naoi,² whom neither weapon could wound, nor fire burn, nor water drown. He had but one eye in the middle of his forehead; he wore a thick collar of iron round his body; and he was fated not to die till he should be struck thrice with his own iron club. He slept in the top of the quicken-tree by night, and remained at its foot by day to watch it. Moreover he made a wilderness of the cantreds around, so that Finn and the Fianna dared not hunt there for fear of him.

Undeterred by these explanations, the men who wished to join the Fianna sought out Diarmuid and challenged him to fight. Diarmuid fought them and bound them both. Hereupon Grainne, who was already pregnant, declared that she should die unless she tasted the berries of the quicken-tree. Diarmuid repaired to Searbhan, and found him asleep. He waked him with a stroke of his

¹ Prof. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 359 conjectures 'that the berries of the rowan were used in some early period in the brewing of an intoxicating drink, or, better still, of the first intoxicating drink ever known to the Teuto-Celtic Aryans.' This is in part confirmed by J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* Edinburgh 1883 p. 24, who says of the rowan-tree: 'The Highlanders formerly used to distil the fruit into a very good spirit.' Similarly J. Evelyn *Silva* York 1776 p. 219: 'Some highly commend the juice of the berries, which, fermenting of itself, if well preserved, makes an excellent drink against the spleen and scurvy: Ale and beer brewed with these berries, being ripe, is an incomparable drink, familiar in Wales, where this tree is reputed so sacred, that there is not a church-yard without one of them planted in it (as among us the Yew).'

² *I.e.* 'Ham or Cham, the son of Noah' (O'Grady *op. cit.* p. 120 n. 1).

foot, and asked for some berries, which Searbhan refused to grant. The result was a furious fight, in which Diarmuid gripped the giant's club and dealt him three mighty blows with his own weapon. Searbhan fell dead upon the spot. Diarmuid plucked the berries for Grainne, and gave some also to the two men as their eric. When the latter had returned to Finn, Diarmuid and Grainne went into the top of the quicken-tree and laid them in the bed of Searbhan, and—says the narrative—the berries below were but bitter berries compared to the berries that were above upon the tree.

Finn and the Fianna next followed the track of Diarmuid to the foot of the quicken-tree, and, finding the berries unguarded, ate their fill of them. During the mid-day heat Finn and Oisín played chess together beneath the tree. Diarmuid, who saw that Oisín could only win by one move, dropped a berry on the right piece; and this he did again and yet again, till the Fianna shouted in astonishment. Finn, however, called up to Diarmuid to ask him if he was in the tree. Diarmuid answered that he and Grainne were there in the bed of Searbhan, and promptly gave Grainne three kisses in the presence of all.

Finn then made a cordon of Fianna about the tree, and promised to reward any man who would mount it and avenge him upon Diarmuid. Again Aonghus came to the rescue, and, when Diarmuid kicked down Garbh of Sliabh Cua, his first assailant, into the midst of the Fianna, changed the shape of the man into that of Diarmuid himself: the Fianna at once beheaded him, when lo, he took the form of Garbh once more. Next Garbh of Sliabh Crot attacked the tree: he too was flung down in the likeness of Diarmuid, beheaded by the Fianna, and restored to his own form. After that, Garbh of Sliabh Guaire met with precisely the same fate. And so did nine Garbhs in succession, till Finn was full of

anguish and sore discouraged. Aonghus at this moment of danger carried off Grainne, as before, beneath his magic mantle. But Oscar besought Finn to forgive Diarmuid, and, when he would not, boldly promised Diarmuid his own protection and bade him come down from the tree. Diarmuid at last made his mighty leap, landed far beyond Finn and the Fianna, and thus, escorted by Oscar, made his way to the Brugh upon the Boyne, where he rejoined Grainne and Aonghus.

Certain elements in this important tale may have been borrowed from the book of Genesis; but in the main it furnishes a curious parallel to the custom of the Arician grove. Here, as there, a sacred tree is guarded day and night by an armed defender. Here, as there, this defender has to encounter in single fight one champion after another, the terms of the encounter being a violent death or possession of the tree. Here, as there, the original guardian of the tree is of more than mortal mould. Professor Rhys regards Diarmuid as a 'solar hero'¹ and Grainne his wife as related to the Celtic Apollo *Grannus*,² who was certainly a sun-god.³ If so, Diarmuid would be the Virbius and Grainne the Diana of this Irish Nemi; for Virbius was by some identified with the sun,⁴ and Diana Nemorensis too had solar pretensions.⁵

¹ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 146, 506, *Arthurian Legend* p. 14.

² *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 510.

³ Inscriptions mentioning Apollo *Grannus* are collected by H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* Berlin 1902 ii. 1. 216 f. nos. 4646—4652. Of the derivations recorded by Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* p. 2038 the most attractive is that put forward by Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures* p. 22) and D'Arbois (*Les Celtes* p. 55), which connects the name with the Irish *gronn* or *gorn*, 'a fire-brand,' and *grian*, 'the sun' (glossed by *Apollo*, *sol*, etc.). It might thus, as Holder points out, be related to the Greek *γρυνός* or *γρουνός*, 'the trunk of an old oak tree,' and to the *Gryneum nemus* of Apollo (Verg. *eccl.* 6. 72 f.).

⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 776.

⁵ Birt in Roscher *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Myth.* i. 1005 f.

Dr. Joyce compares Diarmuid with Adonis;¹ for the former, like the latter, was slain by a monstrous boar.² But this need not conflict with our inference, since Servius long ago remarked that Virbius was related to Diana as Adonis to Aphrodite³—a point of fundamental significance, as Dr. Frazer has recently shown.⁴ The statement that each successive assailant was transformed into Diarmuid, and therefore beheaded, may contain a last trace of the belief that every would-be defender of the sacred tree in turn posed as the sky-god incarnate and in that capacity was ultimately done to death.

A variant of the same legend, collected by Mr. Leland L. Duncan⁵ at Kiltubbrid in the neighbouring county Leitrim, adds details of considerable interest:

The fairies of the land beat the fairies of the lake at a hurling-match, and celebrated their victory by feasting and dancing in Doolas Woods. The food that they ate was berries much resembling the mountain-ash. When they left the fairy-lands their king made them promise not to lose a berry; for, if they did, a tree of many branches would spring up, and if an old woman of eighty ate one of those berries she would become as youthful as though she were sixteen, and if a little maid ate one she would become a flower of beauty. Despite the king's command a little fairy drank too freely of the mountain-dew and lost a berry, which at once grew into a tree of many branches. The fairy-king was about to marry a fairy-queen, who sent to Doolas Woods for butterflies' wings to make herself and her maids of honour clothes for the occasion. The heralds, whom she sent, found the beautiful fairy-tree surrounded by birds and bees. The queen told the king, who discovered the culprit, a fairy-fiddler and -piper called Pinkeen, and despatched him to the giant-lands to find a giant strong enough to guard the fairy-tree and to sleep in its branches at night. Pinkeen,

¹ P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 532.

² *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 171 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 389 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 334 ff.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 95, 7. 84, 761.

⁴ J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* London 1905 p. 25 ff.

⁵ *Folk-lore* vii. 321 ff.

having crossed a high mountain and a great mist, met a giant named Sharving the Surly, gave him some of the berries, and asked him to guard the tree. He gladly consented, and, traversing the mist and the mountain, entered fairy-land with Pinkeen and was installed as guardian of the tree. All this time there were two kings contending in the same province. The rightful king was slain by the intruder, his son Moranna sent adrift on the sea, and his daughter Rosaline robbed of her beauty by means of a spell. One evening a robin, seeing Rosaline's grief, flew off to Doolas Woods to get her a berry from the fairy-tree. There she was met by her cousin, the robin of the wood, who told her that times had changed very much since she was there last, for that there was a great giant guarding the tree, that he slept every night in the branches, and that his breath was poison to birds and bees. "“Every day,” she says “there comes a warrior to give battle to the giant; and the giant, when the warrior comes, bounds high in the air and plucks a branch off the tree and puts it under his belt; and when he's exhausted fighting he takes a handful of the berries and eats them, and that revives his strength, and he strikes down the warrior with a mighty blow, for neither weapons, nor fire, nor water can kill him, but only three strokes of his own iron club. That iron club is girted to his waist with an iron band, and from the iron band there was a chain, and nothing can kill him but three strokes of his own club. Nothing in the world was as ugly as he, for there was only one eye in his forehead, which blazes like a coal, and no warrior was able to defeat him.”” The robin of the wood further advised her cousin to wait for the morrow's attack and peck a berry from the branch while the giant was busy fighting his opponent. She did so and flew back with it to Rosaline, who on swallowing it became twice as beautiful as she had been at first. Just then a prince arrived at the king's castle and gave his name as the Prince of the Sunny Valleys. While he was being entertained, Moranna, the banished brother of Rosaline, returned and was proclaimed king instead of the usurper, who was put to death. The Prince of the Sunny Valleys carried off Rosaline as his bride, and the robin with her.

The substantial identity of this folk-tale and the myth of Diarmuid at Dubhros is obvious. The quicken-tree of Dubhros reappears as the fairy-tree of Doolas Woods resembling the mountain-ash. Searbhan is Sharving the Surly. Diarmuid, the solar hero, and Grainne, daughter of King Cormac, become the Prince of the Sunny Valleys and Rosaline the king's daughter. Indeed, the old names still linger in the locality; for at Kiltubbrid, where Mr. Duncan took down the tale, there is a cromlech called by the peasantry *Leaba Dearmud i*

Graine or 'Darby and Graine's Bed,'¹ and several other cromlechs in the neighbourhood are known by the same name.² But the folk-tale is chiefly valuable for the further light that it throws on the branch and the birds of the sacred tree. It will be remembered that at Nemi run-away slaves who succeeded in breaking a branch from the guarded tree might challenge the priestly king to a single combat; and, as Servius puts it, 'the branch must needs be the reason of one man's death.'³ Thanks to the Irish parallel, we can now see why whoso aspired to be King of the Wood at Nemi must first break a branch from Diana's tree. The berries of the quicken-tree at Dubhros (the mountain-ash of Doolas Woods) were the food of the Tuatha Dé Danann (the fairies of the land). As such they bestowed concentrated and supernatural strength upon the eater. For the time being he fed upon the food of the gods and himself posed as a god. Mael-Duin, who subsisted for 120 days on his Otherworld apple-branch,⁴ and Connla, who fed continually upon his Elysian apple,⁵ had a similar⁶ celestial diet and played a like celestial rôle. This makes it almost certain that the branch of the tree at Nemi was a branch bearing berries or apples of peculiar strength. Dr. Frazer conjectured that it was the mistletoe growing on an oak.⁷ And this may well have been the case. For, apart from

¹ S. Lewis *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* ed. 2 London 1847 ii. 179 s.v. 'Kiltubrid.'

² W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 i. 193 ff.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 156, 169.

⁵ *Ib.* xvii. 147, 154, 169.

⁶ E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 106 says of the mountain-ash: 'The fruit are miniature apples, of the size of holly-berries, bright scarlet without and yellow within.' The fruit of the mountain-ash (*pyrus aucuparia* Gaert.) bears in fact a strong family resemblance to the small yellow and red fruit of the crab or wild apple (*pyrus malus* L.).

⁷ J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* ed. 2 iii. 449 ff.

the Virgilian comparison¹ and the Servian comment on which he relies, I have shown² from Greek and Latin sources that the mistletoe was called 'the sweat of the oak,' *i.e.* the quintessence or life-blood of the oak, and I might add that a Gaelic name for the mistletoe is *sùgh dharich*, 'the sap or substance of the oak.'³ Moreover, just as the giant of Dubhros could not be burnt with fire or drowned in water, so it was believed by the ancients that the mistletoe⁴ and a tree resembling the mistletoe-bearing oak could not be harmed by fire or water.⁵ Nevertheless it remains possible that the sacred tree at Nemi was not an oak at all, but an apple-tree. The Silver Bough of Irish myth, which, as Miss Hull pointed out,⁶ affords the closest parallel to the Golden Bough of Italian myth, was certainly an apple-branch. Besides, Prof. Furtwängler⁷ holds that we have a representation of Diana Nemorensis in a series of gems, which exhibit a draped female figure standing by an altar with a stag at her side: she holds a branch in one hand and a cup, sometimes full of fruit, in the other.⁸ A similarly posed male figure holding a sacrificial knife he regards as Virbius.⁹ If these identifications were certain, we could be sure that the sacred tree at Nemi was not an oak, for in one instance¹⁰ at least the branch has round fruit on it, probably apples. Again, an actual votive offering in the form of an apple made of terra cotta was found

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 205 ff., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136. ² *Folk-lore* xv. 424.

³ J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* p. 33 f.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 119, cp. *ib.* 33. 94, Theophr. *de igne* 61.

⁵ *Id. ib.* 13. 119.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xii. 431 ff., cp. xvii. 156 n. 1.

⁷ A. Furtwängler *Die antiken Gemmen* Leipzig and Berlin 1900 iii. 231.

⁸ *Id. ib.* i. pl. xx. 66, xxii. 18, 26, 30, 32, ii. 101, 108 f., *id. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* Berlin 1896 nos. 856-861.

⁹ *Id. Die antiken Gemmen* i. pl. xxii. 19, ii. 108, iii. 231 f., *Beschr. d. geschn. Steine im Antig.* nos. 854, 855.

¹⁰ *Id. Die antiken Gemmen* i. pl. xxii. 18, ii. 108.

by Lord Savile in Diana's precinct at Nemi.¹ Lastly, Grattius² in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman's festival: 'In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars; we set up split torches at Diana's woodland rite; the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment; and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and this festal time of peace. Then comes the cask; the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year's capture.' It is a legitimate inference from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana Nemorensis. And the word here used for 'boughs' (*ramos*) is the same as that used by Servius in speaking of the 'bough' broken from the sacred tree. It might be urged too that, if Servius had meant the mistletoe, he would have been careful to say so, or at least to specify 'a particular bough,' whereas what he does say is 'if any one had been able to break thence a bough' (*si quis exinde ramum potuisset auferre*)³—which distinctly suggests 'any bough,' and so favours the apple-branch or oak-branch as against the mistletoe-branch explanation. This, however, is not the right place for discussing whether the tree at Nemi was a mistletoe-bearing oak, or an apple-tree, or for that matter a mistletoe-bearing apple-tree. My point is that the Irish parallels go to prove that the branch in question had berries or fruit popularly regarded as the food of the gods, and that the bearer of the branch *ipso facto* assumed the position of a god.

¹ G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 15 no. 69.

² Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.

Further, the two robins of Doolas Woods may correspond to the two birds associated with Virgil's Golden Bough. The berries of the mountain-ash are, as old John Evelyn¹ has it, 'such a tempting bait for the Thrushes, that as long as they last, you shall be sure of their company.' Mr. Step² says of them: 'They ripen in September, and are then a great attraction to thrushes, blackbirds, and their kind, who rapidly strip the tree of them. Though this at first sight may appear like frustrating the tree's object in producing fruit, it is not really so, the attractive flesh being a mere bait to induce the birds to pass the seeds through their intestines, and thus get them sown far and wide.' Aeneas was directed to the Golden Bough by two pigeons (*columbae*),³ and, according to Pliny,⁴ mistletoe cannot grow unless it be passed through the maw of birds, especially of the wood-pigeon (*palumbes*) and the thrush.⁵ Athenaeus⁶ too states that a mistletoe-plant springs from the droppings of a pigeon (οἰνός) that has fed upon mistletoe.⁷ Naturally birds that fed on food divine were themselves deemed sacred; and it is probable that the robins⁸ of Doolas

¹ Evelyn *Silva* p. 219.

² Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees*, p. 106 f.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 190 ff.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 247.

⁵ The missel-thrush (*turdus viscivorus* L.) was called ἰξοβόρος or ἰξοφάγος by the Greeks, and is known as *viscada* in Italy (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 70). Hence Erasmus *Chiliad.* 1 cent. 1 adag. 55 *turdus ipse sibi malum cacat.*

⁶ Athen. 394 E.

⁷ The botanical facts are set out by Prof. H. M. Ward *Trees* iii. 266: 'The viscin of the fruit (*sc.* mistletoe) prevents birds from swallowing the seed, which they therefore rub off on to branches while cleaning the beak: the seed is then washed into a crevice by rain, and germinates.' The same view is recorded in Dr. A. Hunter's notes on Evelyn's *Silva* p. 8 f.

⁸ On the robin as a sacred bird see C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 13 ff.: note especially the Scotch and Breton belief that the robin has some of God's blood within his veins (p. 15 f.), and the Welsh and Breton tales of the robin as a fire-bringer (p. 16 f.).

Woods, like the pigeons of the Golden Bough, were essentially connected with the sacred tree, perhaps as embodying the souls of previous Kings of the Wood.¹

The bed of Diarmuid and Grainne is nowadays usually identified by the Irish peasantry with a rude stone monument of some sort. Cromlechs often bear the name *Leaba Diarmada agus Grainne*, 'the Bed of Diarmuid and Grainne,' and are associated with run-away couples and illicit unions. A girl who goes there with a stranger will be certain to grant him all that he asks; and it is believed that, if a woman be barren, a visit with her husband to 'Darby and Grania's Bed' will cure her.² But our myth in mentioning the Oak-grove of the two huts and the quicken-tree of Dubhros hints rather at a connexion with trees. So too an Irish poem by Dallan Forgaill³ states that—

'Tolgne was the Druidic priest of Crann Greine'—

i.e. 'of the Tree dedicated to Grian.' This, if I am not in error, implies an organised cult of the celestial tree.⁴ A folk-tale printed by Dr. Hyde⁵ connects *Granya Òi*,

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 168 f.

² W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 iii. 841 ff. (citing Dutton *Surv. of Clare* p. 78), cp. index p. 1210, W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 i. 348 f.

³ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 153.

⁴ See *Folk-lore* xvii. 69.

⁵ D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* London 1890 p. 167 ff. 'William of the Tree.' An Irish queen falls sick and dies, but first puts the king under *gassa* not to marry again till the grass is a foot high over her grave. Her daughter keeps it clipped. The king discovers her and vows to marry the first woman that he meets. This is an old hag, who on becoming queen falsely accuses her step-daughter of killing the king's hound. The king takes his daughter to a great wood, hangs her on a tree, and cuts off her hands and feet. As he departs, a thorn runs into his foot, and his daughter prays that he may never get better till she recovers hands and feet. Out of the king's foot grows a tree, which makes him open the window to let the top of it out. A gentleman passing by has heard the king's daughter screeching, taken her home, and married her. She bears him three sons at a birth. *Granya*

'Granya the Virgin,' with an Irish king and a tree. But a better parallel to the myth of Diarmuid and Grainne occurs in another tale edited by the same scholar, viz. *The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*:¹

Cod, eldest son of Ioruaidh king of Norway, who was great-grandson of Daire Red-green, once entered a cave leading to wonder-land. Here he found a lake out of which bright-white birds kept rising. Puzzled at the sight, Cod dived down into the lake and saw a beautiful girl resplendent with satin and gold and gems: she was whittling a white rod, the chips of which flew off and away in the form of birds. She gave her name as *Grian Gníis-sholais*, 'Bright-faced Sun,' daughter of the King of the Forest of Wonders, and presented Cod with her own rod, bidding him whittle it for a while himself. As he did so, evil and feebleness of every kind ceased to affect him. He learnt from her that the King of the Forest possessed another such rod, but would not part with it for love or hatred or fear. Next morning, when the sun shone full, Grian showed Cod the way towards the Forest. On the outskirts of it he encountered three ugly black giants clad in the skins of wild-deer and roebuck. They told him that in the middle of it was a Tree of Virtue (*Bile Buadhach*) adorned with every colour and all the fruits of life: so marvellous was it that he who set eyes on it could hardly part from it for ever, and no man entering the Forest had ever come out again. Cod pressed on till he saw the Tree of Virtues (*Bile na mBuadh*) in the distance. But now there met him a band of thirteen headless men including a king-warrior, who told Cod that he was Iollan, son of the King of Almain, and that his twelve comrades were his foster-brothers, children of the King of the Land-of-Snow.² Love for the daughter of King Under-Wave had induced

Öi comes and puts hands and feet on her, bidding her take the boys at a year old to the king, tell her story before them, rub her hand on the stump of the tree, and so cure the king. She does so, and the tree falls off the king's foot. Next day he hangs the hag, and gives his estate to his daughter and her husband.

Mr. A. Nutt *ib.* p. 195 shrewdly suggests that there is here a *contaminatio* of the Virgin Mary and Grainne, the wife of Finn.

¹ D. Hyde in *Irish Texts Society* London 1899 i. 50 ff.

² A poem inserted in the text names the son of the King of Almainè; Breasal the lively, of the rough words, the good son of the King of the Land-of-Snow; Fiachadh and the furious Fionn, to whom women used to come on adventures; Corc and Cairbrè the shouting; Uaithne and the mighty Arthur, who gave not submission to heroes; Laighne the Red and Tuireann; Feachtna the White and Béinnè. The princes are here twelve in number, and

him to go in quest of the Tree of Virtues—for she would have none but the man who should bring her that Tree—and his foster-brothers had gone with him; but they had all been forced to behead one another through the enchantment of a little man with a harp. Cod buried them in one grave, and had scarcely done so when he saw the same harper advancing towards him. Cod leaped upon him and dashed his harp against a rock; but the little man gathered up the pieces, and it was whole again. Cod seized him a second time and severed his head from his body: thereupon the harper walked off with his head in one hand and his harp in the other. There next appeared a wondrous ox with golden horns, which blew a horn-trumpet and summoned all the cats and hags and spectres of the Forest. Cod speared the ox and amid a perfect pandemonium of sound—the creatures screaming, bellowing, moaning, stamping, the stones and trees shaking and thundering—collected the various beasts and drove them into a cave. Soon afterwards he beheld a queen with a bevy of fair women carrying the ox on a bier. At this he drew his sword and chopped the bier to bits. At length he reached the Tree of Virtues, plucked a great shoulder-load of its branches, and built himself a booth with them. He kindled a big fire for the night, but was tormented by the cries of hideous monsters till he arose, gathered them together, and again drove them into the cave. Returning from this task he found his fire extinguished and his booth changed into a close oak-wood of thin trees, smooth and very high, their tops laden with snow, while bitter winds were blowing and cold linns of water welling between them. After that, a hideous giant met Cod beside the Forest: he was clad in the skins of hornless deer and roebuck; he had two goats'-horns growing through his skull, a circular jet-black hand, and a single leg like a ship's mast; in one hand he held a thick club-staff of iron, in the other a thong attached to a wild-calf. Cod drove his sword through the head of the giant, who fell like a prime oak, but rose again and made for the cave's mouth with Cod on his shoulder and the sword through his head. Cod gripped the sword handle till he made fragments of it and so slipped on to the ground. Looking back he saw the giant transformed into a pillar of stone. Unable to withdraw his sword, Cod snatched the Fomorian club that the giant had and returned through the Forest, where he found trees and stones in one flag of ice. And now he was met by a maiden bearing a shining beautiful lamp, who proved to be Grian the Bright-faced. She welcomed him to her own palace, a *cathair* of unequalled splendour, where the King of the Forest sat on a golden throne surrounded by his knights and ladies. Cod declared that, had it not been for Grian, he would have severed their heads from their bodies and have seized the *cathair* for himself by force. As it was, the King of the Forest of his own accord vacated his throne for Cod, while all the people accepted him as chieftain and lord, swearing by the sun and moon to be faithful to

only one of them is a son of the King of the Land-of-Snow. Elsewhere too the poems inserted in the text contain a variant tradition (D. Hyde *ib.* p. xi.).

him thenceforward. Grian too took her seat on a beautiful throne; and a great feast was made ready for all who were present. The next day Cod received the wondrous rod, and returned with Grian to the lake where he had met her at the first.

This is but a meagre outline of one episode in *The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*—a tale which, from the view point of comparative mythology, would repay detailed study—but it will suffice to show that Grian the sun-goddess in her subaqueous wonderland had a marvellous fruit-tree growing in an enchanted forest; that a number of princely champions went in quest of the tree, which was defended by a little harper with a magic harp, a hideous giant with an iron club, and a king known as the King of the Forest of Wonders; that this king and his daughter Grian possessed white rods of peculiar power; that Cod, the successful champion, thanks to the virtue of Grian's rod, vanquished the defenders of the tree, plucked some of its boughs, and himself became King of the Forest. All this savours strongly of the *rex Nemorensis*, and in particular resembles the other Irish tales concerned with Grainne and her tree. The harper with his magic harp recalls Tolgne the druid of Grian's tree.¹ The giant with an iron club has met us before at Dubhros in the person of Searbhhan Lochlannach.² The rod which, when whittled, conferred supernatural strength is like the branch of the mountain-ash borne by Sharving the Surly in Doolas Woods.³ The story as a whole strengthens our conviction that Diarmuid in the cantred of Hy Fiachrach played the part of *rex Nemorensis*.

Fortunately the Dubhros myth can be brought into connexion with actual custom. For, not only were Irish kings often inaugurated under a sacred tree,⁴ but Dr.

¹ *Supra* p. 448.

² *Supra* p. 439 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 443 ff.

⁴ P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 481 f.

O'Donovan in *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* makes clear two noteworthy facts with regard to the very locality in which Diarmuid's tree is said to have grown. On the one hand, the O'Dubhda (O'Dowd), king of this district, was in historical times inaugurated by means of a rod (*virga*) held over his head by Mac Fírbis, his *ollamh* or chief poet.¹ On the other hand, the name Diarmuid occurs repeatedly in the pedigree of O'Dubhda and in the collateral branches of the royal family.² The original Diarmuid is often styled 'Dermot of the Bright Face'³—a name that must be set beside that of 'Grian the Bright-faced'⁴ as well suited to a personage with solar powers. The meaning of the word *Diarmuid* is a matter of conjecture.⁵ But we shall not be

¹J. O'Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 440 ff. Inauguration by means of a rod was common throughout Ireland; the rod was usually a straight white wand, free from knots in the wood, and deemed symbolic of rectitude, candour, and equity (O'Donovan *ib.* p. 425 ff.). My suggestion is that the rod was originally in all cases a branch of the *bile* or sacred tree beneath which the king was inaugurated.

²*Id. ib.* Genealogical Table opposite p. 476. According to Highland tradition, the Clann Campbell, represented by the Duke of Argyll, descend from Diarmuid, and their crest is a boar's head in memory of his death (P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 439): cp. J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. xxxiii. f., iii. 45, 50 ff., 82 ff.

³P. W. Joyce *op. cit.* p. 438. J. Bonwick *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions* p. 194 states that 'one bard sings of "Diarmuid with a fiery face."' A folk-tale in J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 344 calls him the 'Son of the Monarch of Light.'

⁴*Supra* p. 449.

⁵Prof. Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 691 suggests connexion with the Welsh name *Bodermud* or *Bodermud* analysed into *Bod-Dermyd*. Bruno Güterbock is reported in the *Revue celtique* xviii. 108 to take *Diarmait* for **diarmit*, i.e. **dia-airmitiu*, 'honour of God.' A. MacBain *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* Inverness 1896 p. 358 says: 'Zimmer explains the name as *Dia-ermit*, "God-reverencing," from *dia* and *ermit*: **are-ment*-, "on-minding," root *ment*, as in *dearmad*, q.v.' W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 iii. 898 cp. the Lapp deity *Tiermes*,

far wrong in supposing that Diarmuid himself was at once human and divine, a king believed to be the consort of Grainne, the sun-goddess, and as such installed as defender of Grainne's tree.

Again, we may recognise a certain Scandinavian element in these tales. Cod was the eldest son of the King of Norway; and we shall find that some features of his story are best paralleled by incidents recorded in old Norse mythology.¹ Searbhan too bore the epithet *Lochlannach*. Now *Lochlann* denotes 'of Norway',² and appears as the modern name *Lachlan*, which means 'Norwegian'.³ It is therefore interesting to find that the badge of the Clann McLachlan is the rowan-tree,⁴ the very tree guarded by Searbhan *Lochlannach*.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be concluded in our next.)

who was a thunder-god, the word *tiermes* or *diernes* meaning 'thunder' (see J. A. Friis *Lexicon Lapponicum* Christianiae 1887 pp. 130 s.v. 'Diernes,' 725 s.v. 'Tiermes'). Dr. Whitley Stokes, in answer to a query from me, kindly sends the following note (dated Aug. 24, 1906): '*Diarmait*. The oldest O. Ir. form may have been **Diormit*, as we see from the latinised *Diormitius*, Thes. pal.-hib. II. xxii. 275, 278, 281. This suggests *diformenti*- cf. *format*? In the later *Diarmit*, *Dermait*, *ia*, *ē* supplants *io*-. *Di(f)ormit* 'one without envy'???, a Greek Ἀφθονος, if there was such a name.' This would establish an interesting analogy between *Diarmait* and Nudos *Liberális*.

¹ I must reserve my evidence on this point for another occasion.

² Dr. Whitley Stokes in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iv. 370.

³ A. MacBain *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* p. 362 s.v. 'Lachlan': 'probably from *Lochlann*, Scandinavia, possibly commencing as *Mac-Lochlainne*, a Scandinavian ('son of L.').'

⁴ J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* p. 24.



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The European Sky-God. VIII. The Celts

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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

VIII. THE CELTS.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

PARTLY similar to the tale of Diarmuid at Dubhros, partly to that of Cod in the Forest of Wonders, is the old Highland poem by Blind O'Cloan entitled *Bàs Fhraoich* or 'The Death of Fraoch.'¹ It tells how Mai loved Fraoch but, becoming jealous of her own daughter *Geal-cheann* or 'Fair-head,' plotted his destruction.

A rowan tree stood in Loch Mai,
We see its shore there to the south ;
Every quarter every month,
It bore its fair, well-ripened fruit ;
There stood the tree alone, erect,
Its fruit than honey sweeter far ;
That precious fruit so richly red,
Did suffice for a man's nine meals ;
A year it added to man's life,—
The tale I tell is very truth.
Health to the wounded it could bring,
Such virtue had its red-skinned fruit.
One thing alone was to be feared
By him who sought men's ills to soothe :
A monster fierce lay at its root,
Which they who sought its fruit must fight.
A heavy, heavy sickness fell
On Athach's daughter, of liberal horn ;

¹ *The Dean of Lismore's Book* ed. with translation and notes by the Rev. T. M'Lauchlan Edinburgh 1862 pp. 54 ff. in English, 36 f. in Gaelic.

Her messenger she sent for Fraoch,
Who asked her what 'twas ailed her now.
Mai said her health would ne'er return,
Unless her fair soft palm was filled
With berries from the deep cold lake,
Gleaned by the hand of none but Fraoch.
"Ne'er have I yet request refused,"
Said Fithich's son of ruddy hue;
"Whate'er the lot of Fraoch may be,
The berries I will pull for Mai."
The fair-formed Fraoch then moved away
Down to the lake, prepared to swim.
He found the monster in deep sleep,
With head up-pointed to the tree. A sigh.

Fraoch Fithich's son of pointed arms,
Unheard by the monster, then approached.
He plucked a bunch of red-skinned fruit,
And brought it to where Mai did lie.
"Though what thou did'st thou hast done well,"
Said Mai, she of form so fair,
"My purpose nought, brave man, wilt serve,
But that from the root thou'dst tear the tree."
No bolder heart there was than Fraoch's,
Again the slimy lake he swam;
Yet great as was his strength, he couldn't
Escape the death for him ordained.
Firm by its top he seized the tree,
And from the root did tear it up:
With speed again he makes for land,
But not before the beast awakes.
Fast he pursues, and, as he swam,
Seized in his horrid maw his arm.
Fraoch by the jaw then grasped the brute,
'Twas sad for him to want his knife:
The maid of softest waving hair,
In haste brought him a knife of gold.
The monster tore his soft white skin,
And hacked most grievously his arm.
Then fell they, sole to sole opposed,
Down on the southern stony strand,
Fraoch mac Fithich, he and the beast,
'Twere well that they had never fought.
Fierce was the conflict, yet 'twas long,—
The monster's head at length he took.
When the maid what happened saw,

Upon the strand she fainting fell.
 Then from her trance when she awoke,
 In her soft hand she seized his hand :
 " Although for wild birds thou art food,
 Thy last exploit was nobly done."
 'Tis from that death which he met then,
 The name is given to Loch Mai ;¹
 That name it will for ever bear,
 Men have called it so till now. A sigh.

The rowan-tree bearing fruit of exceptional power, Mai's desire that Fraoch should pluck it, and Fraoch's consequent fight with a monstrous guardian of the tree, are features that recall the legend of Diarmuid. The knife of gold in Fraoch's hand, though used for attacking the monster not the tree, suggests the golden sickle with which the sacred olive of Zeus at Olympia was cut² or, to come nearer home, the golden sickle with which the druids cut the mistletoe,³ not to mention the new dirk with which the same plant was cut by the Hays at Errol.⁴ The location of the rowan-tree at the bottom of Loch Mai, like that of the Tree of Virtue at the bottom of the Lake of Wonders in the tale of Cod, or that of the Tree of the Green Cloth at the bottom of Loch Guirr,⁵ implies that Fraoch's exploit was in the nature of a visit to the Otherworld. Diarmuid too, according to a West Highland folk-tale,⁶ had sunk to the bottom of the sea in his quest for the daughter of King Under-waves and had there obtained for her the magic cup of King Wonder-plain, returning afterwards in safety to Erin. A more famous

¹ The Rev. T. M'Lauchlan *ib.* p. 54 n. 3 says: 'It is generally believed in Perthshire that the scene of Fraoch's death was in Glen Cuaich, a valley lying between those of the Tay and the Almond. We have a Loch Fraoch there . . . I cannot find any lake in Scotland now called Loch Mai, although Loch Fraoch may have been so called.'

² *Folk-lore* xv. 400.

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 251.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 318 ff.

⁵ *ib.* 347 n. 3.

⁶ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.

tale, that of *In Gilla Decair* or 'The Slothful Gillie,'¹ which can be traced back to about the year 1630,² contains an account of Diarmuid's visit to the Otherworld, in which a guarded tree is a prominent object. It may be summarised thus:—

One day Finn and some of his chiefs were in Munster, resting on the hill of Collkilla, when they saw approaching a hideous [black]³ giant with an equally hideous horse. The giant was trailing after him an iron club and dragging the horse along by main force. He explained that he was the Gilla Dacker, a Fomor of Lochlann, who wished to serve Finn for a year and then, according to custom, fix his own wages. Finn agreed to this proposal. But no sooner had the big man's horse been turned out to graze than it began to kick and maim the horses of the Fianna. In their efforts to restrain its vicious tricks Conan and fourteen [thirteen] [[twenty-eight]]⁴ other men mounted the beast at once and started thrashing it. At this the Gilla Dacker grew indignant and finally took his departure, followed at a terrible pace by his horse, from whose back the fifteen [fourteen] [[twenty-nine]] riders tried in vain to escape. Finn and his friends at once went in pursuit; and Ligan Lumina, one of the fastest of the Fianna, caught the horse by the tail just as it reached the sea-shore. But he too stuck fast and was drawn along in the water after it. Fergus Finnvel, the poet, now advised Finn to go to Ben Edar for a ship. On the way thither they met opportunely enough a certain Feradach, who undertook to make a ship by striking his joiner's axe thrice on his sling-stick [[to make a whole fleet by striking the harbour with a branch]], and with him his brother Foltlebar, who said that he could follow a track on sea as well as on land. Finn took them both into his service, and they were as good as their word. Fifteen warriors selected from a muster of the Fianna went on board the newly-made vessel with Finn. For some days they sailed towards the west and, after weathering a bad storm, reached a vast rocky cliff, which towered up to such a height that its head seemed hidden

¹ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* i. 258 ff. Irish text from a MS. dated 1765, ii. 292 ff. translation, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 327 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 223 ff. Cp. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 187 ff., A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff. I summarise from Joyce's version, which was made from a MS. written in 1728 with comparison of another written in 1795 (Joyce *op. cit.* p. xv).

² E. O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 316 ff.

³ Words and sentences enclosed in square brackets are added from the version of *In Gilla Decair* given by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* ii. 292 ff.

⁴ Words and sentences enclosed in double square brackets are added from the folk-tale *Fin MacCool, the Hard Gilla, and the High King* in J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* London 1894 p. 514 ff. (collected in county Kerry).

among the clouds. It rose sheer from the water and appeared to be as smooth as glass. [On it there abutted a rock, solid and cylindrical, having sides more slippery than an eel.] Thus far Foltlebar found the track of the Gilla Dacker, but no farther. The Fianna felt sure that he must live on the summit, and Fergus suggested that Dermot O'Dyna, who had been fostered from childhood by Manannan in Fairyland and by Angus at Bruga of the Boyne, should be able to climb the cliff and bring back tidings. Dermot thereupon arose, put on his armour, and leaning on his two long spears, the *Crann-boi* and the *Ga-derg*, swung himself from ledge to ledge up the rock. Having scaled the dizzy height, he looked inland and saw a flowery plain spread before him. He set out to walk across it and soon came to a great tree laden with fruit, over-topping all the other trees of the plain. It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and one stone, taller than the others, stood in the centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring well, with a large, round pool as clear as crystal; and the water bubbled up in the centre, and flowed away towards the middle of the plain in a slender stream.¹ [From east and west, from south and north, Duibhne's grandson traversed the plain and, as he looked abroad, was aware of a vast tree with interlacing boughs and thickly furnished; hard by which was a great mass of stone furnished on its very apex with an ornamented pointed drinking-horn, and having at its base a fair well of water in all its purity.] Dermot stooped to drink, but ere he could do so heard the heavy tread of a warlike host and the clank of their weapons. He sprang to his feet and looked round; but the noise had ceased, and he saw nothing. Again he stooped to drink, and again he heard the same sounds, but louder and nearer than before. Casting his eyes round in some perplexity, he saw on the top of the tall pillar-stone a large drinking-horn, chased with gold and enamelled with precious stones. He took it down and drank without hindrance till he had slaked his thirst. But now there came against him from the east a tall wizard-champion (*gruagach*) in full armour with a scarlet mantle and a golden crown. He addressed Dermot in an angry voice, and demanded instant satisfaction for this intrusion upon his island and his well. Dermot and he fell to fighting, and fought on furiously till evening came, when the wizard-champion sprang suddenly into the centre of his well and disappeared. Amazed and disappointed, Dermot walked towards the nearest point of a great forest, speared a deer, roasted it on hazel spits before a fire, which he kindled beneath a tree, and washed down his meal with water from the drinking-horn. [[He made a hut of limbs, and slept quietly till dawn.]] Next morning he slew another deer and drank again from the horn. Then, repairing to the well, found the wizard-champion there before him, standing

¹ On wells connected with rude stone monuments see W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* ii. 645, iii. 765, 768 ff., W. G. Wood-Martin *Elder Faiths of Ireland* ii. 86, J. R. Walker in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1883 v. 209.

beside the pillar-stone, fully armed as before and more wrathful than ever. He charged Dermot with killing some of his speckled deer, and at once proceeded to take vengeance on the trespasser. All day long they fought together, and, when the dusk began to fall, the wizard-champion again leaped into his well and vanished. The self-same thing happened on the third day, and on the fourth. But when, on the evening of the fourth day, the wizard-champion was about to spring into the well, Dermot clasped him tightly and together they sank to the bottom [[passed through a passage in the side of the spring]]. Here Dermot found a lovely country with flowery plains and woods of red yew trees. Right before him lay a glittering city with a royal palace, into which the wizard-champion passed through a whole array of knights in armour. Dermot slew the knights till he was weary of slaying, and then fell asleep before the very door of the castle. He was awakened and rescued from his dangerous plight by a princely warrior, who carried him off to a splendid house at some distance and there entertained him most courteously for the night. On the morrow [after hospitality lasting for three days and three nights], in answer to Dermot's questions, his host replied: 'This country is Tir-fa-tonn [*tír fō thuinn*, 'terra sub unda']; the champion who fought with you is called the Knight of the Fountain, and that very champion is king of this land. I am the brother of the king, and my name is the Knight of Valour. Good reason indeed have I to be kind to you, Dermot O'Dyna, for, though you do not remember me, I spent a year and a day [a year] in the household of Finn the son of Cumal.' He further explained that the Knight of the Fountain had seized on his patrimony [[the Knight of Valour being the rightful king]] and begged Dermot to help him to recover it. Dermot did so, slew the Knight of the Fountain, and established the Knight of Valour as king in his stead.

Meantime Finn and his men had met with somewhat similar adventures. Feradach and Foltlebar had made a long rope of the ship's cordage, had scaled the cliff, and had drawn up the Fianna. Following Dermot's track they too had reached the great fruit-tree. Here they were joined by a king on horseback, who welcomed them to his country and escorted them across the plain to his palace. That night he entertained them, and on the evening of the next day made them a great feast. His royal hospitality was continued for three days and three nights. Then, in answer to Finn's questions, he told them that his country was called Sorca [[that he was the King of *Sorách*, 'Light']]. A messenger now arrived to tell the king that a foreign fleet, some said the King of the World and his host [[the High King of the World]] [the king of the Greeks in prosecution of his conquests all the world over], had made a descent upon his shores. Finn volunteered his aid, and the Fianna together with the men of Sorca successfully attacked the invaders. [Oscar slew the king of Franks' son, who was in the Greek army. Feradach and Foltlebar slew the king of Afric's son. Finn himself slew the king of Greeks' son; whose sister

Taise *taebghel*, the 'white-sided' [[Teasa Taov Geal]], was enamoured of Finn, and that night stole away to him. A chief captain in her father's host [[a champion called Lavran MacSuain]] undertook to recover her by waving a certain special branch of great beauty, the mere sound of which would throw all men into deepest slumber. Entering the green pavilion of Finn and the king of Sorcha, he thus lulled them to sleep and recaptured Taise for the king of the Greeks, who thereupon took himself off to Greece.]

Soon afterwards Finn and the king of Sorca were conversing, when a troop was seen approaching. It proved to be Dermot accompanied by the Knight of Valour, now king of Tir-fa-tonn. He, as Dermot explained, had found out by his druidical art that it was Avarta the Dedannan, the son of Illahan of the Many-coloured Raiment [Abartach, son of Allchad], who had taken the form of the Gilla Dacker and carried off the sixteen [fifteen] Fianna to the Land of Promise. Finn resolved to go thither in quest of them. He went back to his ship, and voyaged from island to island over many seas until at length he reached the Land of Promise. [He had sent Dermot, Goll, Oscar, and Fergus to Greece in pursuit of Taise. They sailed to Athens, where Fergus with his poet's wand struck the city-gate and announced that they were travelling poets. While the king was away hunting, they carried off Taise and steered for the Land of Promise.¹] Dermot, as a fosterling of Manannan, would not let Finn lay waste the land: but Foltlebar and one other, sent on as heralds to the mansion of Avarta, demanded the restitution of Conan and the missing Fianna. Avarta came back with Foltlebar, concluded peace with Finn, and brought him and his company to the mansion, where they found their lost friends and all made merry together. Finn, in view of this friendly re-union, claimed no damages but gave Avarta the wages of his service [said that the wages due to Abartach were cancelled by the damages due to himself]. But Conan, remembering the discomforts of his own abduction, claimed that fifteen of Avarta's men should make the return journey on the same monstrous horse, Avarta himself clinging to its tail [that fourteen of Avartach's best women should return astride the horse, Avartach's own wife at its tail] [[that the Gilla should return with the Fianna in their ship and

¹ In the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522 ff.) there is here a considerable divergence. The Knight of Valour tells Dyeermud that the Hard Gilla is a champion resident in his realm, who is keeping the Fianna safe and sound. After challenging and overthrowing the usurping King of Tir Fohin, Dyeermud and the Knight of Valour, now installed as the rightful king, repair to the Gilla's castle, where they receive a warm welcome. Fin meantime, having helped the King of Sorách, waited in his castle till Goll, Oscar, and a druid had sailed to the land of the High King and brought back Teasa Taov Geal by force. The King of Sorách knew the Hard Gilla well and escorted Fin and his comrades to the Gilla's castle, where they met Dyeermud and the missing thirty.

afterwards ride home on his own horse]]. Finn and the Fianna then sailed back to Erin, where much to their amusement and amazement Avarta and his fifteen, hideous horse and all, joined them at Knockainy, and on a sudden vanished into thin air. [[The Gilla, having returned with the Fianna in their ship, recrossed the sea on an invisible horse]]. [Finn married Taise at Almhain in Leinster.]

Prof. A. C. L. Brown,¹ commenting on this singular recital, points out that in all probability the Knight of Valour, who (though Dermat would not recognise him) had served Finn for a year and a day, was none other than the Gilla Dacker, who had agreed to serve Finn for a year; and that consequently it was this Knight of Valour who alone could reveal the true name and nature of the Gilla Dacker.² That revelation was to the effect that the Gilla Dacker was one form of *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach*, 'Avarta, son of Allchad of the Many-coloured Raiment,' who had a mansion in the realm of Manannan. In short, the Gilla Dacker = the Knight of Valour = Avarta, a confessed shape-shifter. Prof. Brown³ further observes that this *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach* appears among the Tuatha Dé Danann in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*⁴ as *Abhortach mac an Iol-dathaigh*, 'Abhortach, the son of the Many-coloured one,' along with *Ilbhreac mac Mhanandín*, 'The variously-spotted one, son of Manannan,' and suggests that this connexion with Manannan warrants us in referring the epithets *Ioldathach* and *Ilbhreac* to shape-shifting, or change of colour and form. Lastly, Prof. Brown⁵ writes: 'It would be natural to suppose that some connection must exist

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 107 f.

² This conclusion might be further supported by the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522), in which the Knight of Valour says to Dyeermud: 'I am the man . . . that will find out the Hard Gilla for you. That Gilla is the best swordsman and champion in this land, and the greatest enchanter . . . He is a good friend of mine.'

³ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 106 n. 1.

⁴ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 117 ff.

⁵ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 108 n. 1.

between *Avartach* and *Avallac*, the Welsh name both for the Other World and for the King of the Other World, were it not that the phonetic change of Welsh *ll* to Irish *rt* is contrary to rule. The two names, however, as pronounced, would sound very nearly alike.'

The identification of the Gilla Dacker with *Avartach*, which is certain, and the identification of both with the Knight of Valour, which in some sense or other is highly probable, have an important bearing on our main thesis. The Gilla Dacker gave himself out to be a Fomor of Lochlann.¹ In that respect he resembles Searbhan Lochlannach.² And further investigation confirms the substantial similarity of the two figures. Both are hideous black giants armed with an iron club. Searbhan defends a sacred quicken-tree; and the Gilla Dacker, in so far as he is one with the Knight of Valour, has a great fruit-tree in his domain, defended by the Knight of the Fountain, who with a golden crown on his head is usurping the post of king. Again, the Gilla Dacker is expressly identified with *Avartach*, owner of a mansion in the realm of Manannan. If Prof. Brown is right in equating *Avartach* with *Avallach* (and we have ere now seen a yet stranger distortion of the latter word³), *Avartach* was lord of the Otherworld apple-tree, and derived his name from that fact.⁴ Thus Searbhan of the quicken-tree was strictly analogous to *Avartach* of the apple-tree. May we not suppose that, as the name *Avartach* meant in its original form 'He of the Apple-tree,' so the name *Searbhan* meant originally 'He of the Quicken-tree' (*sorbus aucuparia* L.), being in fact *Sorbanus from *sorba*, 'a quicken-tree'? However that may be, the Gilla Dacker, being one with *Avartach*, was likewise lord of an Otherworld apple-tree, so that we are enabled to offer a fair conjecture as to the species of the great fruit-tree guarded by the Knight of the Fountain.

¹ *Supra* p. 27.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 439, 453.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 308 n. 2.

⁴ *Ib.* 308 n. 3.

Moreover, we can now eliminate the Scandinavian element from this and other such tales. For it appears that the Gilla Dacker or Searbhan is the Scandinavian equivalent for the Celtic lord of the Otherworld tree—an inference that I shall hope to establish elsewhere. Finally, since the Knight of the Fountain acted as the royal champion of a fruit-tree (? apple-tree) belonging to the Gilla Dacker, *alias Avartach*, we obtain by analogy valid ground for believing what for other reasons we were already prepared to believe, *viz.* that Diarmuid, when he defended the quicken-tree of Searbhan at Dubhros, was indeed a king acting the part of a god.

Searbhan, 'He of the Quicken-tree,' and *Avallach*, 'He of the Apple-tree,' were alike perpetuated by the Christian saint Serf or Servanus, who drew his name from the one and his legend from the other. The berry of the quicken-tree, otherwise known as the fowler's service-tree,¹ was in Middle English *serf*, corresponding to an Anglo-Saxon *syrf-* in *syrf-trēow* (*i.e.* sirf-tree, service-tree),² while *Servanus* appears to be the Latinised form of *Searbhan* (Sharving). Like *Avallach* he had a sacred apple-tree; for the legend is that, when St. Serf on his way to Fife threw his staff across the sea from Inch Keith to Culross, it straightway took root and became the apple-tree called *Morglas*,³ 'the Great Green-one.' Again, St. Serf's island in Lochleven,⁴ like that of St. Mourie in his eponymous lake,⁵ may well have been the Christian successor of a pagan Otherworld abode. The counterpart of the spring

¹ E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* p. 108.

² W. W. Skeat *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 476.

³ R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 219.

⁴ A. Kerr 'Description of the ecclesiastical remains existing upon St. Serf's island, Lochleven' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1882 iv. 159 ff.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 331 ff.

belonging to the Gilla Dacker (*Avallach*) would thus be St. Serf's well at Monzievairst in Perthshire, or St. Servan's well at Alva in Stirlingshire, or St. Shear's well at Dumbarton in Dumbartonshire, all of which are accounted miraculous.¹ It is noteworthy, too, that at Culross it was a very ancient custom for the young men to go in procession through the streets carrying green boughs on July 1, the feast of St. Serf. The town cross (? the descendant of a sacred tree) was decorated with garlands and ribbons, and the procession passed several times round it before disbanding to spend the day in amusements.²

The mention of green boughs suggests an objection that might be taken to the position here assigned to Diarmuid. If he was indeed the foster-child of Manannan, privileged to visit the Otherworld tree, ought he not, like Bran or Cormac or Mael-Duin, to bear a branch in token of the same? Now we read in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*³ that Diarmuid had with him 'the Crann buidhe of Manannan,' which he used as a magic spear. But *crann buidhe* means literally the 'yellow branch,' the word *crann* denoting a 'tree' or 'branch.' It may, I think, be inferred that, just as the shaft of Duach's spear was formed of the yew of Ross,⁴ so the shaft of Diarmuid's spear was formed of Manannan's tree.

But it is time to turn from these Ossianic myths and enquire whether they, like the Ultonian myths, can be paralleled from the Arthurian cycle. Diarmuid fighting Searbhan beneath the quicken-tree of Dubhros, or attacking the Knight of the Fountain that belonged to the Gilla

¹ J. R. Walker in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1883 v. 201, Dom Michael Barrett *A Calendar of Scottish Saints* Fort-Augustus 1904 p. 96.

² Dom Michael Barrett *ib.* p. 96 f.

³ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 87, cp. *ib.* 91 and 175 the *Ga buidhe*, or 'Yellow shaft.'

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 69.

Dacker, finds in fact his nearest analogue in Iwain or Owen.¹ This will appear from a perusal of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes and the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue side by side with *The Lady of the Fountain*, an Arthurian tale included in the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

Chrétien's poem is summarised as follows by Prof. A. C. L. Brown :²

'The story opens at Carduel in Wales, where Arthur is holding court. King Arthur and the queen have withdrawn to their chambers, and Calogrenant has begun a tale to the assembled knights, of whom Iwain is one. The queen enters to hear it also, and he begins again at her request. "About seven years ago," says Calogrenant, "I wandered all day through the Forest of Broceliande till I came to a strongly fortified place. The lord of the *forteresse* gave me a splendid welcome, and a fair maid disarmed me and entertained me in a meadow till supper. The supper was entirely to my taste because of the maid who sat opposite to me. I spent a pleasant night in that castle. In the morning I set out, and not far off I found fierce bulls fighting and a black creature with a head larger than a horse's, armed with a club, guarding them. Finding that this creature could speak, I asked him to direct me to some adventure. He showed me the path to a fountain, telling me also what I might do. I reached the fountain about noon. By it stood the most beautiful tree that ever grew on earth. I took a basin of gold that was attached by a chain to the tree, and, dipping up some water, I poured it on the rock. Forthwith there ensued a terrible storm of wind and rain; then a calm in which the birds sang sweetly on the tree. After this there appeared a knight on horseback, who attacked and overthrew me. I came home on foot like a fool and like a fool have told my story."

During the talk that follows, Arthur comes out of his chamber, hears the story repeated, and declares that he will go with his knights within a fortnight, namely just before St. John the Baptist's Day, to essay the adventure. Iwain, however, is anxious to try it alone; so he steals away secretly. He is entertained at night by the Hospitable Host; next morning he sees the Giant Herdsman, and he comes at last to the Fountain Perilous. He pours

¹ The similarity of the story of the Gilla Dacker to that of Iwain or Owen is pointed out by A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine* 1887 xii. 555, by Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 186 ff., by F. Lot in *Romania* 1892 xxi. 67 ff., and by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff.

² A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 13 ff. The most convenient text is that of W. Foerster—Kristian von Troyes *Yvain (Der Löwenritter)* ed. 2 Halle a. S. 1902 = *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.—with introduction, notes, and glossary. See also Foerster's large critical edition—Christian von Troyes vol. ii *Yvain* Halle 1887.

water on the rock. The storm follows. After this the armed knight appears and attacks Iwain. They fight till Iwain deals the knight a blow that cleaves his helmet and wounds him in the brain. The knight flees, pursued by Iwain, through the streets of a town and up to the gate of a palace. The knight rides under a sharp iron gate, which is arranged to drop like the fall of a rat trap if one touches the spring. Iwain follows hard after, and his horse accidentally touches the spring. The gate falls close behind Iwain and with its knife edge cuts his horse in two, cutting off the hinder part of the saddle and also the rider's spurs. Another gate at the same time descends in front, and Iwain is imprisoned in a *sale*. But a damsel, called Lunete, issues from a narrow door and recognises him as Iwain, son of King Urien. She was once sent on a message by her lady to King Arthur's court, and, perhaps because she was not so courteous as a damsel ought to be, no knight deigned to speak to her except Iwain. He honored and served her, and she is glad to recompense him now. She gives Iwain a magic ring that, when the stone set in it is enclosed in the hand, makes its wearer invisible, and she brings him food to eat. Presently men come with clubs and swords, seeking him who slew their lord, Esclados le Ros. They do not find Iwain, for the ring renders him invisible. Lunete's mistress, whose name is Laudine, a most beautiful lady, now enters, weeping for her lord, who is carried on a bier. When the corpse is brought into the hall where Iwain is, it begins to bleed. The men feel confident that the murderer must be hidden there, and they renew their search. When Iwain sees Laudine, he is smitten with violent love for her. He even watches the funeral, so as to catch a better glimpse of her. He refuses to go when Lunete offers to help him to escape. Lunete persuades her lady that she ought to feel no hatred against the knight who slew her husband. She reminds her that the Dameisele Sauvage has sent word that King Arthur is coming within a week to essay the Fountain. Laudine feels that a knight is needed to defend it. Lunete tells her that the knight who slew her husband would undertake to do it. When Laudine learns that his name is Iwain she consents. Iwain is terrified when ushered into Laudine's presence and says that anything she may lay upon him, even death, he will take without ill will. She receives him kindly when he promises to defend the Fountain. Iwain and the lady are speedily married, and there is great joy.

The wedding feast lasts till King Arthur comes to essay the adventure of the Fountain. Kay is assigned to the adventure. The king pours water on the rock, and presently Iwain appears mounted on a powerful horse and overthrows Kay. Iwain then reveals himself to Arthur and escorts him and his knights to the castle, where they are entertained for a week.

When Arthur departs, Iwain is persuaded to accompany him. Laudine does not give Iwain permission to go till he has promised to return within a year. If he does not come back by that time, "her love will turn to hate." She gives Iwain a ring that will protect him from imprisonment and be his shield and hauberk. A year has passed, and Iwain is busy in tournaments. Suddenly he recollects that he has overstayed his time. The same instant

a damsel rides up and calls him a hypocrite, and a thief who has stolen her lady's heart and forgotten his promise to return. She demands back the ring. When Iwain does not reply, she snatches the ring from his finger and departs. Iwain goes mad and runs into the forest, where he lives like a beast. A hermit supplies him with musty bread. At length one day a lady, accompanied by two damsels, finds a naked man asleep in the forest. One of the damsels recognizes Iwain by a scar on his cheek. At her request the lady allows the damsel to bring a box of ointment, a gift from Morgue the Wise, by means of which Iwain is cured of his madness. In return Iwain frees the lady from the oppression of a powerful enemy, Count Alior.

As Iwain is riding through a deep forest, he finds a serpent and a lion fighting. He succors the lion and slays the serpent. The lion kneels down before Iwain and indicates by his tears that he thanks him. After this the lion accompanies Iwain everywhere. Iwain comes to the Fountain Perilous and finds Lunete shut up in the little chapel near by. She tells Iwain a wicked seneschal has accused her of treason in persuading Laudine to marry Iwain. She is to be burned to-morrow unless a knight can be found who will fight the seneschal and two others, in order to prove her innocence. Iwain promises to undertake the combat but is obliged to go some distance before he finds lodgings for the night at a castle. This castle is beset by a giant, Harpin of the Mountain, who will kill the lord's sons or carry off the daughter of the house in the morning unless a champion can be found to fight him. Iwain promises to fight the giant if the latter appears early in the morning; otherwise he shall be obliged to go to keep his promise and save Lunete. In the morning Iwain waits till prime for the giant to appear, and, as he does not come, is distracted in his mind whether to go or stay. At last Harpin comes and Iwain subdues him, aided in the struggle by his faithful lion. Iwain rides hurriedly to the Fountain Perilous, and arrives in time to rescue Lunete by fighting at once the wicked seneschal and two others. The lion again helps Iwain. Laudine does not know who Iwain is. He calls himself the Knight of the Lion.

Iwain is met by a messenger from the younger daughter of the lord of La Noire Espine. The lord is dead, and the elder daughter has usurped all the land and secured Gawain to defend her claim. Iwain, who does not know that his opponent will be Gawain, agrees to fight for the younger daughter. He does not reveal his own name but is called the Knight of the Lion. Iwain and the messenger come to a place called the Castle of Ill Adventure and are advised not to enter. They do enter, however, and find three hundred girls behind a row of stakes. These girls are pale and thin and obliged to toil at working silk with thread of gold. It is explained that many years ago the King of the Isle of Maidens went like a fool in search of adventure. He fell into the power of two "fiz de deable" who own this castle. Being not yet eighteen years old, he ransomed himself as best he could by swearing to send each year thirty maidens as tribute till the monsters should be vanquished. Iwain is well entertained for the night by

the lord and lady of the castle, but in the morning he is obliged to fight the monsters. He overcomes them, with the aid of his lion, and frees the maidens. Iwain arrives at Arthur's court clad in armor and known as the Knight of the Lion. Gawain, too, is disguised by his armor, and the two friends fight a terrible battle. When night comes on, they grow tired, and reveal themselves to each other. There is great joy, and people are surprised to see how evenly they are matched.

Iwain soon returns to the Fountain Perilous and stirs up such a storm that the castle is almost destroyed. Lunete is sent to find out who is at the Fountain, and by her mediation Iwain is reconciled to Laudine. Now Iwain has peace and through joy the past is forgotten.'

Chrétien wrote his *Yvain* between 1164 and 1173.¹ Hartmann von Aue had completed his *Iwein* in 1204.² But since the latter poet appears to have been wholly dependent upon the former for his materials,³ his work need not be separately analysed. The same may be said of *Ywain and Gawain*, a Middle English metrical romance written probably in the first half of the fourteenth century by an unknown author, whose source was undoubtedly Chrétien's poem summarised above.⁴

No such dependence can be proved in the case of *The Lady of the Fountain*, which is found first in the White Book of Rhydderch, a Welsh manuscript older than the Red Book of Hergest⁵ written in the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁶ Prof. Foerster indeed holds that *The Lady of the Fountain* is merely a prose rendering of Chrétien's poem made in the fourteenth century;⁷ and that the 'kernel' of both is the theme of the Easily

¹ W. Foerster in *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v. p. ix ff.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein (Der Ritter mit dem Löwen)* ed. by E. Henrici Halle a. S. 1891-1893 vol. ii. p. vi.

³ E. Henrici *ib.*: 'nur die geschichte vom raube der königin ist zugekommen, und auch diese wahrscheinlich aus Christians Karrenritter entlehnt.' See further Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain* p. 67 ff.

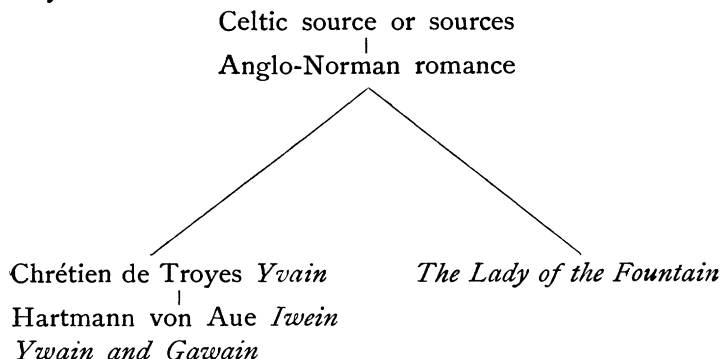
⁴ G. Schleich *Ywain and Gawain* Oppeln and Leipzig 1887 pp. xxiv, xxxix.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 402 n. 1.

⁶ J. Rhys and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Hergest* Oxford 1887 i. p. xiii.

⁷ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xix ff., Kristian von Troyes *Yvain* ed. 2 W. Foerster (*Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.) Halle a. S. 1902 p. li.

Consoled Widow best known from *The Matron of Ephesus* in the writings of Petronius,¹ Phaedrus,² etc.³ But the views of this eminent scholar have been severely handled, not to say pulverised, by Mr. A. Nutt and Prof. A. C. L. Brown. Mr. Nutt,⁴ laying just stress on the clearer arrangement and far finer style of the Welsh tale, inclines to agree with M. Gaston Paris⁵ that behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* lies a lost Anglo-Norman romance, of which both extant works are but versions, the former in French poetry, the latter in Welsh prose,—a theory to a large extent identical with that put forward in 1869 by Dr. C. Rauch.⁶ And Prof. A. C. L. Brown,⁷ following in the steps of a whole series of scholars,⁸ has triumphantly demonstrated the essentially Celtic character of all the main incidents in the story. The resultant theory of the relations between *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be indicated thus:



¹ Petr. sat. 111 f.

² Phaedr. app. 13.

³ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. i. *Cligés* Halle 1884 p. xvi, vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xxi, Kristian von Troyes *Yvain* ed. 2 W. Foerster Halle a. S. 1902 p. xvii ff.

⁴ Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 347 ff.

⁵ G. Paris in *Romania* 1881 x. 465 ff.

⁶ C. Rauch *Die wälische, französische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage* Berlin 1869 p. 17 f.

⁷ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain passim*.

⁸ See H. Goossens *Über Sage, Quelle und Komposition des Chevalier au Lyon des Crestien de Troyes* Paderborn 1883. So A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine*

On this showing it is obvious that, in order to get back to the ultimate Celtic basis of the tale, we must take into account not only Chrétien's *Yvain* but also *The Lady of the Fountain*.¹ It will be advisable first to resume the story and then to consider it in connexion with *Yvain*.

King Arthur, holding his court at Caerlleon upon Usk, one day sleeps before his repast, after bidding Owain, Kynon, and Kai entertain each other with tales and good cheer. Kai provides meet and drink, while Kynon begins a tale. 'I once set forth on a journey to discover whether any man was stronger than myself. I came to the fairest valley in the world, where stood a large and lustrous castle. Near it were two princely youths engaged in shooting, and a richly-clad man who brought me courteously to the castle. In it dwelt none save four and twenty beauteous damsels. They tended me and my horse, and we all made merry at a feast. After the feast I told the man who I was and what I sought. He bade me sleep there the night and go on my way the next morning. "A little way within the wood," said he, "thou wilt meet with a road branching off to the right, by which thou must proceed, until thou comest to a large sheltered glade with a mound in the centre. And thou wilt see a black man of great stature on the top of the mound. He is not smaller in size than two of the men of this world. He has but one foot; and one eye in the middle of his forehead. And he has a club of iron, and it is certain that there are no two men in the world who would not find their burden in that club. And he is not a comely man, but on the contrary he is exceedingly ill-favoured; and he is the woodward of that wood. And thou wilt see a thousand wild animals grazing around him. Inquire of him the way out of the glade, and he will reply to thee briefly, and will point out the road by which thou shalt find that which thou art in quest of." On the morrow I found the one-eyed giant, as directed, and asked him what power he held over the wild animals around him. Hereupon he took his club and struck a stag a great blow so that it brayed aloud, and at its braying the beasts flocked together. The giant bade them go and feed;

1887 xii. 555, G. Paris in *Romania* 1888 xvii. 334 f., E. Muret in the *Revue Critique* 1890 xxix. 66 ff., A. Ahlström 'Sur l'Origine du Chevalier au Lion' in the *Mélanges dédiés à Carl Wahlund* Mâcon 1896 p. 289 ff., G. Baist in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 402 ff., G. L. Kittredge in the *Nation* New York Feb. 24 1898 lxvi. 150 f. Cp. A. Mussafia in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 1889 x. 220 ff.

¹Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* London 1877 p. 3 ff., with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 167 ff., J. Loth *Les Mabinogion* Paris 1889 ii. 1 ff. The best edition of the Welsh text is J. Rhys and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Hergest* Oxford 1887 i. 162 ff.

and they did homage to him as vassals to their lord. I then inquired of him the way; and he became very rough in his manner. However, when I disclosed my name and my errand, he directed me further. "Take," said he, "that path that leads towards the head of the glade, and ascend the wooded steep until thou comest to its summit; and there thou wilt find an open space like to a large valley, and in the midst of it a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees. Under this tree is a fountain, and by the side of the fountain a marble slab, and on the marble slab a silver bowl, attached by a chain of silver, so that it may not be carried away. Take the bowl and throw a bowlful of water upon the slab, and thou wilt hear a mighty peal of thunder, so that thou wilt think that heaven and earth are trembling with its fury. With the thunder there will come a shower so severe that it will be scarce possible for thee to endure it and live. And the shower will be of hailstones; and after the shower, the weather will become fair, but every leaf that was upon the tree will have been carried away by the shower. Then a flight of birds will come and alight upon the tree; and in thine own country thou didst never hear a strain so sweet as that which they will sing. And at the moment thou art most delighted with the song of the birds, thou wilt hear a murmuring and complaining coming towards thee along the valley. And thou wilt see a knight upon a coal-black horse, clothed in black velvet, and with a pennon of black linen upon his lance; and he will ride unto thee to encounter thee with the utmost speed. If thou fleest from him he will overtake thee, and if thou abidest here, as sure as thou art a mounted knight, he will leave thee on foot. And if thou dost not find trouble in that adventure, thou needst not seek it during the rest of thy life." Hearing this, I pressed on and found everything as the giant had told me. I charged the knight valiantly, but was overthrown. He rode off with my horse, leaving me where I was. So I returned in dejection by the way that I came, being derided for my pains by the giant, but entertained as before by my hospitable host and furnished with another palfrey. In truth I deem it strange that such an adventure should exist within King Arthur's dominions unknown to all save me.'

Arthur now wakes from his sleep and sits down to meat with his household. At dawn next day Owain takes up the quest. He too meets the hospitable host, the one-eyed giant, and the black knight, as Kynon had done. But, after breaking his lance, Owain strikes the knight so fierce a blow with his sword that he cleaves his helmet and wounds his very brain. The knight turns and flees into a great castle hotly pursued by Owain, whose horse is cut in two by the descending portcullis. The inner gate being closed, Owain finds himself caught in a trap. A damsel called Luned, on the ground that she has never seen one more faithful in the service of ladies, helps him in his distress. She gives him a ring conferring invisibility on its wearer, and promises to await him on the horse-block, where he is to place his hand upon her shoulder in token that he, though unseen, is present. When the people of the castle come to seek him, they find nothing but the half of his horse.

Owain follows Luned into a beautiful chamber, where he is feasted and put to sleep by her. At daybreak he witnesses the funeral procession of the knight whom he has slain and falls in love with the knight's lady. Luned describes her as 'the fairest, and the most chaste, and the most liberal, and the wisest, and the most noble of women,' but gives her no name but the Countess of the Fountain. While Owain sleeps again, Luned goes to woo the Countess for him. At first the Countess resents her words. But Luned argues as follows: 'Unless thou canst defend the fountain, thou canst not maintain thy dominions; and no one can defend the fountain except it be a knight of Arthur's household; and I will go to Arthur's Court, and ill betide me if I return thence without a warrior who can guard the fountain, as well as, or even better than, he who defended it formerly.' The Countess bids her go. She returns with Owain. The Countess detects in him the slayer of her lord. 'So much the better for thee, lady,' says Luned, 'for had he not been stronger than thy lord he could not have deprived him of life.' The Countess, having taken counsel of her assembled subjects, then marries Owain. And thenceforward, we read, 'Owain defended the fountain with lance and sword. And this is the manner in which he defended it: whenever a knight came there he overthrew him, and sold him for his full worth, and what he thus gained he divided among his barons and his knights; and no man in the whole world could be more beloved than he was by his subjects. And it was thus for the space of three years.'

At the end of that time Arthur and his household, guided by Kynon, set out to seek for Owain. They too come to the hospitable host, the giant, and a black knight. Kai obtains leave to essay the adventure, but is overthrown. Next day he tries again, but again is overthrown and sore wounded. After that, the whole household, man by man, attacks the knight with a like result. Gwalchmai and Arthur alone remain. Arthur is arming himself for the fray, when Gwalchmai begs permission to attempt the combat before him. Arthur consents; and all that day until the evening Gwalchmai and the black knight fight without either unhorsing the other. On the morrow they fight again with equal fortune. On the third day at noon they both are thrown, but rise and renew the struggle with swords till fire flashes from their weapons. One of Owain's blows discloses Gwalchmai's face. They recognise each other amid great rejoicings. The day following all repair to the castle of the Countess of the Fountain, where they are entertained with a banquet of three months' duration.

Arthur now induces the Countess to allow Owain to go with him to the Island of Britain. She gives him leave of absence for three months. But he stays away for three years. One day, as he sits at meat in Caerlleon upon Usk a damsel rides up to him and, with taunting words, takes the ring from his finger. Owain then remembers his promise and roams the mountains in distress, feeding familiarly with wild beasts till he becomes too weak to bear them company. A widowed countess and her maidens find him exhausted in their park. The countess bids one of the

maidens anoint him with a flask of precious ointment and bring him a horse and clothing. In gratitude Owain rescues the countess from a young earl, who is oppressing her. He then resumes his wanderings through distant lands and deserts.

In a forest he comes upon a serpent and a black lion fighting. He kills the serpent and is followed by the lion, which forages for him. He next finds Luned imprisoned in a stone vault. She had defended his character, when two pages of the Countess of the Fountain had called him a deceiver. In two days' time they will put her to death, unless he himself appears to rescue her. Owain, without revealing his name, withdraws to a neighbouring castle for food and shelter. The earl who lives in this castle is downcast, because a man-eating giant of the mountain has seized his two sons and threatens to slay them on the morrow unless the earl's daughter is delivered up in their stead. Next morning Owain fights the giant and, thanks to his lion, is victorious. He now hastens away to protect Luned and arrives just as the pages are about to cast her into a great fire. He attacks them both at once, and again the lion comes to his aid and destroys the pair of them. Owain then returns with Luned to the Countess of the Fountain, whom he takes with him as his wife to Arthur's court.

Owain visits the court of the savage black man and fights with him. The lion does not quit Owain until he has vanquished his foe. In the black man's hall Owain sees four and twenty fair ladies in deep sorrow. The demon who owns the castle has slain their husbands and robbed them of their horses and raiment and money. Outside the castle Owain is saluted in friendly fashion by a knight, who is the savage black man himself. Owain attacks, overcomes, and binds him, as had been foretold, but grants him his life on condition that he becomes the keeper of an hospice. Next day Owain returns with the four and twenty ladies and their possessions to Arthur's court. 'And thenceforward,' says the tale, 'Owain dwelt at Arthur's court greatly beloved, as the head of his household, until he went away with his followers; and those were the army of three hundred ravens which Kenverchyn had left him. And wherever Owain went with these he was victorious.'

We are now in a position to reconstruct the lost Anglo-Norman romance that lies behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*. Confining our attention to the incidents that occur in both, we obtain the following outline:

While King Arthur is holding his court at Carduel in Wales (Caerlleon upon Usk), his knights converse and one of them named Calogrenant (Kynon) recounts a tale. In search of adventure he had once come first to the castle of a hospitable host, then to a monstrous black herdsman armed with a club, and lastly to a wonderful tree standing beside a stone and a fountain, which fountain was guarded by a knight on horseback. Having unsuccessfully attacked the knight, he had returned home in dejection.

Iwain (Owain), on hearing this tale, departs by stealth to essay the same adventure. More successful than his predecessor, he deals the knight a mortal wound, and, though his horse is cut in half by a falling portcullis, and himself entrapped at the entrance, makes his way into the knight's palace. He is enabled to do so by the maid Lunete (Luned), who gives him a ring rendering him invisible and afterwards pleads his cause with her mistress Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain). Iwain (Owain) now weds the widow of the knight and undertakes to defend the fountain in his stead.

Arthur and his knights next come to the fountain. Kay (Kai) is deputed to attempt the combat, but is overthrown by Iwain (Owain). The latter reveals himself, and invites Arthur and the knights to a feast in the castle of Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

When Arthur leaves, she allows Iwain (Owain) to leave with him, but only on condition that he shall return within a year (three months). Forgetful of this condition, he overstays his time. A damsel rides up, abuses him, and carries off his ring. He roams in the wilderness, living the life of a beast. A lady with her damsels finds him exhausted on the ground and heals him by means of a magic ointment. In return he frees her from a powerful foe.

He sees a serpent and a lion fighting in a forest, slays the serpent, and thereby secures the services of the lion. He finds Lunete (Luned) imprisoned for taking his part and condemned to be burned next day (in two days' time). He seeks lodging for the night in a neighbouring castle, beset by a giant of the mountain, who threatens to carry off the lord's sons or his daughter. Iwain (Owain) and the lion slay this giant. They then hasten on and rescue Lunete (Luned) by fighting and destroying her adversaries. Iwain (Owain) finally returns with Lunete (Luned) to Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

Prof. A. C. L. Brown¹ has gone far towards proving that the whole of this romance is based on a Celtic folk-tale of the Fairy Mistress type. He holds that the first half of the romance, down to the point at which Iwain (Owain) is cured by the magic ointment, reproduces a Celtic original comparable with *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain* (*Serglige Conculaind*),² and that the second half of the romance similarly rests on a Celtic tale resembling *The Wooing of Emer* (*Torchmarc Emere*), in which a lion guides and carries Cuchulain on his way

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 1-147, *id.* *The Knight of the Lion* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* Cambridge Mass. 1905 xx. (N.S. xiii.) 673-706.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 148 ff.

to the Otherworld.¹ The two halves would thus be complementary parts of one and the same myth. The first tells how a mortal is invited to fairyland, journeys thither successfully and weds a fairy queen, but disobeys her injunctions, loses her, becomes insane and has to be cured by a magic remedy. The second tells of a wondrous journey, in which the hero, aided by a helpful beast, fights his way through terrible dangers back into the Otherworld and so returns to live with his supernatural wife.

While accepting in the main Prof. Brown's conclusions, I would urge—and he would hardly deny it²—that the larger part of our romance is paralleled by *The Slothful Gillie* even more nearly than by *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*. This will be readily seen from the following table of contents :

<i>The Slothful Gillie.</i>	<i>Yvain + The Lady of the Fountain.</i>
Finn and his chiefs assembled at Collkilla.	Arthur and his knights at Carduel in Wales (Caerlleon upon Usk). The hospitable host.
The black club-bearing giant (Gilla Dacker).	The black club-bearing giant (giant herdsman).
Dermot comes to a great fruit-tree standing beside a pillar-stone and a spring.	Iwain (Owain) comes to a wonderful tree standing beside a stone and a fountain.
The hospitable host (Knight of Valour).	

¹ The tale exists in two versions, a longer (s. xi.) and a shorter (s. viii.). The text of the longer version was published by K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1901 iii. 229 ff., and an English translation by the same scholar in *The Archaeological Review* 1888 i. 68 ff., 150 ff., 231 ff., 298 ff.: cp. E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga* London 1898 p. 55 ff., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 21 ff. Text and English translation of the shorter version by K. Meyer in the *Revue celtique* xi. 434 ff.: French translation in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 39 ff.

² In *Iwain* p. 103 ff. Prof. Brown himself lays stress on the resemblance of *Yvain* to *In Gilla Decair*. See *supra* p. 35 n. 1.

Dermat slays the champion (Knight of the Fountain) who guards the spring.

Finn and his chiefs come to the tree.

Meeting between Finn and Dermat.

Departure of Finn and Dermat.

Dermat, after a long voyage, recaptures Taise for Finn and joins him in the Land of Promise.

Iwain (Owain) slays the champion (the red or black knight) who guards the fountain.

Arthur and his knights come to the tree.

Meeting between Arthur and Iwain (Owain).

Departure of Arthur with Iwain (Owain).

Iwain (Owain), after a long journey, regains Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

So closely does *The Slothful Gillie* approximate to the common theme of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, that we may venture to explain several features of the Anglo-Norman romance by means of the Celtic folk-tale. To begin with, the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* wears a scarlet mantle and a golden crown, posing as the king of Tir-fa-tonn. We may take it, then, that Esclados le Ros ('the Red') in *Yvain* and the black knight in *The Lady of the Fountain* were usurping the position of the Otherworld king.¹ Again, the hospitable host in *The Slothful Gillie*, who gives his name as the Knight of Valour, explains that he is the rightful king. Probably, therefore, the hospitable host in *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* was likewise the real king.² Moreover, we saw reason to believe

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 42 f. compares Esclados le Ros with Manannan: 'The diligent reader of Arthurian material must feel a certain probability in this parallel between Esclados le Ros and Manannán, the tricky magician and shape-shifter of the Celts. The mysterious red knight who encountered Iwain at the fountain has absolutely no character of his own. One cannot but fancy that he was, in an earlier form of the story, some one in disguise.' If I am right, his surname 'Red' is the one survival of his royalty.

² G. Baist in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 403 acutely observes that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman may originally have had some more intimate connexion with the adventure than any that appears in *Yvain*. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 114: 'The Giant Herdsman, and probably therefore the Hospitable Host, must originally have been different appearances of the same Other-World being, a shape-shifter commissioned by the *fée* to guide the hero to her land.'

with Prof. Brown that the Knight of Valour was none other than the Gilla Dacker, or 'Slothful Gillie,' himself, who in turn was described as one form of Avartach, a dweller in the realm of Manannan. By parity of reasoning we may conclude that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman in the Anglo-Norman romance were but diverse forms of the same personage, presumably the human and the superhuman aspects of the Otherworld king. We have here to deal with a somewhat perplexing multiplicity of characters, *viz.* the hospitable host, the defender of the fountain, and the club-bearing giant, who all in a sense represent the Otherworld king. It may be surmised that, in the original Celtic source of the story, the hospitable host was the actual human monarch, living in his *dun* and characterised by that liberality which the Celts invariably ascribed to their ideal king,¹ while the champion of the tree and fountain undertook the woodland duties of his tabu-bound majesty, being related to him precisely as the king of the Fianna appears to have been related to the king of all Ireland.² As to the club-bearing giant or black man, whose dusky hue has in *The Lady of the Fountain* been extended to the woodland champion also, the analogy that I have already³ traced between the black club-bearing giant (the Gilla Dacker) in *The Slothful Gillie*, who came from Lochlann, and the black club-bearing giant (Searbhan) in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, who bore the surname Lochlannach, makes it highly probable that we should here detect a trace of Scandinavian influence. The black-handed club-bearing giant slain by Cod, prince of Norway, was a similar Scandinavian figure.⁴ And in Donald MacPhie's version of *Manus the Athach*, another such monstrous giant, is sent by the king of Lochlann to

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 37 f., 46 f., 51 f., 167 f. ² *Supra* p. 6 f.

³ *Supra* p. 39 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 28 f.

guide Fionn and his company to the home of the Lochlanners.¹ The association of a marvellous horse with the Gilla Dacker² points, I believe, in the same direction: a reminiscence of this horse perhaps accounts for Chrétien's black club-bearing monster, whose head is expressly said to have been larger than that of a horse.³

But if the Celtic folk-tale thus enables us to throw light on some obscure features of the Anglo-Norman romance, the converse process is no less useful. In *The Slothful Gillie* Dermot, according to all analogy, ought to have married the divine partner of the Knight of the Fountain: the existing, comparatively late, form of the story contains no such incident—at most we learn that Dermot recaptures Taise for Finn, whose name and fame have obviously ousted those of his follower. Prof. Brown⁴ remarks 'In the original form of the story . . . we must infer that Taise the *fée* fell in love with Diarmaid,' and suggests in a foot-note 'that a fairy mistress story about Finn has been worked into the *Gilla Decair*, and substituted for the original adventures of Diarmaid.'⁵ *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* have preserved the more primitive situation, in which Iwain (Owain), helped by Lunete (Luned), marries Laudine (the Countess of the

¹ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860-1862 iii. 364 ff., cp. *ib.* iv. 326 f. where a woodcut of a similar giant or *àchan* is given.

² *Supra* pp. 27, 30 f.

³ Chrétien *Yvain* 295 f.

⁴ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 113.

⁵ It is to be observed that in *The Daughter of King Under-waves* (J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.) Diarmaid, after admitting the *fée* to his couch, goes to live with her in a magic castle that she has raised above Beinn Eudainn, loses her by neglecting to follow out her injunctions, pursues her to *Rioghachd Fo Thuin* or 'Realm Under-waves,' recovers her of a sickness by giving her three draughts from the cup of King Wonder-plain, but in the end takes a violent dislike to her and returns home without her. Cp. *supra* p. 26, and see further G. H. Maynadier *The Wife of Bath's Tale* London 1901 p. 21 ff.

Fountain). Comparison with *The Voyage of Bran*,¹ *The Adventures of Connla*,² and the tale of *Oisín and Niamh*³ leads me to believe that the messenger sent to the hero was originally the goddess herself, in fact that Lunete is merely a doublet of Laudine. If so, her name may be significant. In the early Celtic tales the fairy mistress was, if I am right, a sun-goddess, the sun being feminine in Irish and in Old Welsh. The Anglo-Norman romance-writer, to whom the sun was masculine, the moon feminine, naturally changed the sun-goddess to a moon-goddess. Thus it comes about that, whereas Diarmuid's partner was properly *Grainne*, Iwain's partner was re-named *Lunete* from *la lune*, 'the moon.' Chrétien expressly describes Lunete and Gauvain as *la lune et le soloil*,⁴ thereby confirming at once my present contention that Lunete represents the moon and my past contention that Gawain represents the sun.⁵

The tree defended by the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* was 'a great tree laden with fruit,'⁶ probably an apple-tree.⁷ In *Yvain* it is said to be a pine, the most beautiful that ever grew on earth:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,
Que ce estoit li plus biaux pins,
Qui onques sor terre cretist.⁸

The Lady of the Fountain makes it 'a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees.'⁹ Huon de Mery, who wrote his poem *Li Tornoïemenz Antecrit* shortly after the year 1234,¹⁰ takes his cue

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 144 f.

² *Ib.* xvii. 146 f.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 147 f.

⁴ Chrétien *Yvain* 2398.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 343.

⁶ *Supra* p. 28.

⁷ *Supra* p. 32.

⁸ Chrétien *Yvain* 413 ff. In 414 cod. G reads *haus* ('tall') for *biaus* ('beautiful'), a reading adopted by Prof. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 83 n. 1.

⁹ *Supra* p. 35.

¹⁰ Huon de Mery *Li Tornoïemenz Antecrit* ed. by G. Wimmer (E. Stengel *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* lxxvi.) Marburg 1888 p. 11.

from Chrétien and speaks of the tree as a 'green pine':

Le bacin, le perron de marbre
Et le vert pin et la chaire
Trouvai en itele maniere
Comme l'a descrit Crestiens.¹

Hartmann von Aue, who commonly agrees with Chrétien even in details, here unexpectedly mentions 'a lime-tree, the most beautiful ever seen':

des schirmet im ein linde,
daz nie man schoener gesach :
diu ist sîn schat und sîn dach.
sî ist breit hôch und alsô dic
daz regen noch der sunnen blic
niemer dar durch kumt.
irn schadet der winter noch envrumt
an ir schoene niht ein hâr,
sine stê geloubet durch daz jâr.²

In the Middle High German saga of *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* we more than once hear of a lime-tree in a context that recalls the story of *Yvain*.³ The Middle English metrical romance *Ywain and Gawain*, despite

¹ Huon de Mery 100 ff. The author of *The Fairy Mythology* London 1828 ii. 217, after stating that Huon de Mery visited the Fountain of Barenton and the Perron ('horse-block') Merveilleux, continues: 'He sprinkled the Perron from the golden basin that hung from the oak that shaded it, and beheld all the marvels.' But Huon distinctly says 'pine,' not 'oak,' though in describing the thunder-storm that followed he mentions oaks and beeches:

129 ff. La foudre du ciel descendoit,
Qui tronçonnoit et pourfendoit
Parmi le bois chenes et fous.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein* 572 ff.

³ *Ortnit und die Wolfdietriche* ed. A. Amelung and O. Jänicke (*Deutsches Heldenbuch* iii.) Berlin 1871 *Ortnit* stanza 84 (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Ortnit finds Alberich, king of the dwarfs), *Wolfdietrich B* stanza 350 ff. (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Wolfdietrich fights and overcomes Ortnit: later, he marries Ortnit's widow and becomes king in his stead), *ib.* stanza 807 ff. (the lime-tree under which was a marble bench and a brass man, who by means of two bellows and a hundred golden pipes made a hundred birds to sing on the tree). See further A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 140 n., *The Knight of the Lion* p. 679 n. 3.

its dependence on Chrétien's poem, describes the tree as a 'thorne':

þare I fand þe fayrest thorne,
þat ever groued, sen God was born :
So thik it was with leves grene,
Might no rayn cum þarbytwene ;
And þat grenes lastes ay,
For no winter dere yt may.¹

Presumably the species of the tree varies according to the flora of the district in which the myth is localised.

The Anglo-Norman tale underlying *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be regarded as the source of several episodes contained in the old French prose-romance called the *Livre d'Artus*.² This work, which supplies us with a collateral version of Kalogrenant's adventure,³ confirms in a remarkable way several of the conclusions already drawn from a comparison of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* with *The Slothful Gillie* and other definitely Celtic sources. The monstrous herdsman is here expressly said to be Merlin in disguise, who tells Kalogrenant that he is lord of the forest and that the fountain is defended by one of his relatives and friends. This to some extent supports my conjecture⁴ that the giant herdsman was originally a god, viz. the Otherworld king, whose human representative, king of the district, had a fighting deputy or champion at the fountain. Again, this champion is said in the *Livre d'Artus* to be Brehus-sans-pitié,⁵ a lover

¹ *Yvain and Gawain* 353 ff., cp. *ib.* 627.

² E. Freymond 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altfranzösischen Artusromane in Prosa' in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur* Berlin 1895 xvii. 1 ff. summarises the *Livre d'Artus* from a Paris MS. of the thirteenth century.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 53 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 47.

⁵ On whom see E. Freymond 'Zum *Livre d'Artus*' in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1892 xvi. 125 f., E. Löseth *Le roman en prose de Tristan* Paris 1891 p. 500 f. s.v. 'Brehu(s), (Brun)', P. Rajna *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* Firenze 1876 p. 106 ff.

of Lunete, Lunete herself being a cousin of Merlin's innamorata Niniane. Lunete has installed Brehus as defender of the fountain of Breceiande: he is to fight any knight who provokes the storm by pouring water from the basin on to the stone and is to take away his horse; if he is himself vanquished, the victor is to do with him what he pleases. In other words, Lunete here takes the place of Laudine or the Countess of the Fountain, whose doublet I hold her to be.¹ Lastly, instead of a pine growing by the fountain, we hear of a sycomore, to which the basin was attached by a chain,² though in another passage we are told that Kalogrenant fastened his horse to a pine standing beside the sycomore.³

These and other⁴ variations on the same theme all go back to one common Celtic myth, which itself, if I am not mistaken, implies a ritual practice strictly analogous to that of the *rex Nemorensis*. Cu Roi with his oak-branches foiled by Cuchulain, the Green Knight with his holly branch in the story of Gawain, King *Guiromelans* 'of the Mistletoe-bough' beaten by Gawain and Perceval, Searbhan Lochlannach who guarded the quicken-tree of Dubhros, the Knight of the Fountain worsted by Diarmuid near the great fruit-tree of Tir-fa-tonn, Esclados le Ros vanquished by Iwain beside the pine-tree of Brocéliande, what are they all but mythic echoes of the woodland king whose business it was to fight all comers beneath his sacred tree?

Nay more, if we accept Mr. A. Nutt's⁵ acute suggestion

¹ *Supra* p. 49 f.

² *Livre d'Artus* 88 p. 56.

³ *Ib.* 94 p. 58. The same variant, *viz.* a sycomore for a pine, is found in Christian von Troyes *Erec und Enide* ed. W. Foerster Halle 1890 p. 210 line 5834: it occurs in the episode of *La joie de la Cort*, which is summarised by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 133 f.

⁴ *E.g.* Bojardo *Orlando innamorato* I. I. 27 ed. Panizzi ii. 8.

⁵ A. Nutt *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* p. 232 ff. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 26 n. 1.

that the typical heroine of the French Arthurian romances was derived essentially from the ancient Celtic *fée*, we should do well to supplement it by the belief that the typical hero of the same romances was likewise descended from the Celtic aspirant to the position of woodland king. On this showing the rule of the Arician priesthood, or rather its equivalent in the Celtic area, would be the very ground-work and foundation of that marvellous superstructure—mediaeval chivalry.¹

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹The statement that Brehus-sans-pitié had to confiscate the horse of any knight who passed his way (*supra* p. 52) recalls the fact that Diana's grove at Nemi might not be entered by horses (*Ov. fast.* 3. 266). This connexion with horses is far-reaching and of peculiar significance, as I shall hope to prove elsewhere.